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The Campaigns of McClellan and Rosecrans in Western Virginia 1861-1862

By Joseph Walker Thomas

The Invasion of Virginia

When the Federal government decided that the reduction of Fort Sumter was an act of war, and Lincoln issued his call for volunteers, the reaction of Virginia became of prime importance. Whatever course the state took her location destined that her hills and valleys would be the theater of war. Through her northern section ran the only railroad line which gave Washington a direct connection with the West. Her northern panhandle, extending northward in a finger-like projection between Ohio and Pennsylvania, would almost sever the loyal states in case Virginia seceded. Although Unionist in sentiment the Old Dominion refused to accept the doctrine of coercion, and on April 17, 1861, she adopted the Ordinance of Secession, subject to the decision of a referendum to be held on the 23rd of the next month. There was little doubt as to what the electorate would decide, and from the adoption of the Ordinance plans were made to defend the state

On the adoption of the Ordinance of Secession northwestern Virginia sprang into prominence. The great majority of convention delegates from that section opposed secession to the last, and in no uncertain language told the convention that the region west of the mountains would remain loyal to the Union. Very shortly after the convention adjourned and transmontane delegates reached their homes from Richmond, they were active in a movement for the formation of a new and loyal state. Such a

scheme, it was expected, would fall in perfectly with plans of the Lincoln government.

The attitude of Ohio was important in any scheme for the division of Virginia. The citizens of that state feared that she would be subject to attacks from the Confederacy along the long border of the Ohio River in case Virginia joined the South.[1] During the winter, when there were hopes of avoiding hostilities, the feeling was growing in Ohio that, in any case, if Virginia seceded the western portion should be cut off and held in the Union.[2] Ohio was thus eager from the beginning to lend even military assistance to Unionists in western Virginia.[3]

During the trying month of April, 1861, loyal Virginians were neither ignorant of, nor indifferent to, threats to their state's sovereignty. On April 21, J. G. Newman, of Putnam County, advised Governor John Letcher that the state was threatened with invasion from Ohio via Point Pleasant, and asked that arms be rushed to Kanawha Falls.[4] On the next day the County Court of Putnam appropriated $3,000 for the purchase of arms with which its citizens might defend themselves and the state of Virginia.[5] On April 22, Lieutenant Colonel N. J. Coplin, of the 138th Virginia Militia at Clarksburg, asked Letcher for arms to be sent to Bridgeport for the purpose of preventing the passage of troops over the railroad.[6] Coplin's petition had the indorsement of six citizens of Clarksburg.[7] On the 23rd, Major General T. S. Haymond, also of the militia, sent a message from Fairmont to the governor describing the situation in Marion County.[8] No mail was being received from south of Washington,[9] and administra-

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[1] Whitelaw Reid, *Ohio in the War: Her Statesmen, Her Generals, and Soldiers*, Cincinnati: More, Wilstach, and Baldwin, 1868, I, 46.
[2] *Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes, Nineteenth President of the United States*, Charles Richard Williams, ed., The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1922, II, 4.
[3] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901, I, Vol. II, part II, 23.
[4] Reid, *op. cit.*, I, 46.
[5] *Official Records*, I, Vol. LI, part II, p. 26.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[9] *Ibid.*

tion men were boasting that troops were coming from Ohio and Pennsylvania, and they were threatening a provisional government.[10] The Federal government was issuing arms on the order of the postmaster at Wheeling, and although the majority of the people were "right," they would be overcome if arms were not furnished.[11] On April 24, a group of men from Taylor County asked for arms from Richmond.[12] They wanted arms before the election as they thought that the polls would be held by anti-secessionists and loyal Virginians might be prevented from voting.[13] They reported 500 reliable men in Taylor County and the Letcher Guards already organized at Fetterman.[14]

These pleas were answered by Governor Letcher on May 4, when he ordered Colonel George A. Porterfield, of Jefferson County, to proceed to Grafton with authority to call the militia of Wood, Wirt, Roane, Calhoun, Gilmer, Ritchie, Pleasants, and Doddridge Counties to service at Parkersburg, and that of Braxton, Lewis, Harrison, Monongalia, Taylor, Barbour, Upshur, Tucker, Marion, Randolph, and Preston to Grafton.[15] His instructions were to protect the railroad and to allow its peaceful use.[16] By May 25, Porterfield had four companies, badly in need of training, assembled at Grafton, and had received a train of equipment via Beverly.[17]

Meanwhile mobilization was on foot in Ohio, where Union sentiment was in the overwhelming majority, and the state government was in control of the Republican Party. The state militia had been reorganized during the administration of Governor Salmon P. Chase,[18] and, while woefully lacking in reserve equipment,[19] was well prepared to answer Lincoln's call.[20] The state legislature was

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[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid*, p. 31.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 31.
[15] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. II, p. 802.
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. LI, part II, p. 109.
[18] Reid, *op. cit.*, I, p. 19.
[19] Jacob Dolson Cox, *Military Reminiscences of the Civil War*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900, I, p. 10.
[20] Reid, *op. cit.*, I, p. 19.

in session when the call came, and on April 16th, its Senate appropriated $1,000,000 for placing the state on a war footing and for assisting the Federal government.[21] On the 18th, the House concurred in the act which had been amended so as to set aside $450,000 for the purchase of arms and equipment for the state militia, $500,000 for carrying into effect any requisition of the President to protect the Federal government, and placed $50,000 in an extraordinary contingent fund for the use of the governor.[22] The criminal code was strengthened by making any citizen giving aid or comfort to the enemy guilty of treason, to be punished by life imprisonment at hard labor.[23] Laws were passed to protect the property of volunteers from execution for debt while they were in the military service.[24]

Ohio militia companies quickly responded to the call for volunteers,[25] of which Ohio's quota was thirteen regiments.[26] The state capitol was used to quarter the first troops reporting,[27] but a camp was established shortly in the northern suburbs of Columbus, and named Camp Jackson.[28] State Senator Jacob D. Cox, who held the commission of brigadier general in the militia,[29] was placed in charge.[30] At this camp militia companies were rapidly organized into the First and Second Regiments of Ohio Valley Volunteers,[31] and on April 19, they were dispatched to the defense of Washington via Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.[32]

Very early in the training program general officers were appointed. The legislature passed an act on April 23, authorizing the governor to appoint a major general to command Ohio troops, and on the same day George B.

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[21] *Ibid.*, p. 21
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] Lawrence Wilson, *Itinerary of the Seventh Ohio Volunteer Infantry*, 1861-1864, New York and Washington, 1907, p. 26 f.
[26] Reid, *op. cit.*, I, p. 23.
[27] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 16.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 12
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 8
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 12
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

McClellan, a Cincinnati railway official and late captain in the United States Army, was so commissioned.[33] McClellan was a graduate of West Point and had seen service in the Mexican War. After that war he had served as an officer of engineers and had reported on explorations of the Red River. He had been sent abroad as a military observer during the Crimean War and his report had been widely read. Although he had but recently come to Ohio, he was one of her better known citizens. Governor Dennison's invitation to command Ohio's troops came to him largely as a result of his record, although Cincinnati friends worked in behalf of his appointment.[34]

Very shortly after the call for troops was issued, it became evident that Ohio would exceed her quota.[35] At Dennison's suggestion the legislature authorized the acceptance of ten additional regiments and provided $500,000 for their payment.[36] An additional $1,500,000 was provided for use in case the state was invaded, or on the appearance of the danger of invasion.[37]

As a training camp for troops a site on the Little Miami River, thirteen miles above Cincinnati, was selected, and named Camp Dennison.[38] On April 29, General Cox was detailed to the camp with the Eleventh and part of the Third Regiments of Ohio Volunteers.[39] He was met at the camp site by Captain William S. Rosecrans, an engineer, and construction was started at once.[40] Troops were dispatched to Dennison from recruiting camps as rapidly as they could be accommodated and shortly three brigades were present under the command of Brigadier Generals

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[33] George Brinton McClellan, *McClellan's Own Story, the War for the Union, the Soldiers Who Fought It, the Civilians Who Directed It, and His Relations to It and to Them.* New York: Charles L. Webster and Company, 1887, p. 41.

[34] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 1. In view of the wide and heated controversies that have centered around McClellan, it is difficult to arrive at the true facts concerning his appointment. Because of the high standard of General Cox's work and his objectivity in analyzing McClellan's career in the Union Army, I have accepted his statements rather than those of more obviously prejudiced authors. McClellan's own statements are so conflicting that his testimony is worthless.

[35] Reid., *op. cit.*, I, p. 23.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] Cox., *op. cit.*, I, p. 12.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[40] *Ibid.*

Joshua A. Bates, Newton Schleick, and Jacob D. Cox[41] A training program for both officers and men was quickly devised and serious preparation for war got under way.[42]

McClellan had intended to make his headquarters at Camp Dennison, but the press of business kept him, with his staff, in Cincinnati.[43] From that point he sent General Winfield Scott a proposal for a campaign in the West.[44] His suggestion was that an army operate directly south from Cincinnati and open the Mississippi Valley, while a column advanced up the Great Kanawha River in cooperation with an army operating south from Washington.[45] Scott's reply indicated that he favored such a scheme, but he did not definitely approve it.[46]

While troops were being recruited and trained in the field, state officials in Columbus had discussions as to their use under way. Adjutant General H. B. Carrington, supported by the governor, was of the opinion that the Ohio River was not a proper line for the defense of Ohio.[47] He thought that a better plan would be to seize the mountain ranges of western Virginia, rally loyal citizens to the Union cause, and prevent the advance of an army from Richmond that might overawe Union sentiment and attack Ohio. [48] When the point was raised that Virginia had not yet seceded, Dennison declared that he would "let no theory prevent the defense of Ohio,"[49] and that he would defend Ohio where it cost the least and accomplished the most.[50] He said, "Above all, I will defend Ohio beyond rather than on her border."[51] Dennison was cooperating closely with Virginia Unionists who had plans for the organization of a new state,[52] and late in April he arranged a conference at Bridgeport, Ohio, with a group

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[41] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[45] *Ibid.*
[46] *Ibid.*
[47] Reid, *op. cit.*, I, p. 46.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] *Ibid.*
[51] *Ibid.*
[52] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 52.

headed by John S. Carlile.[53] He was represented at the conference by Judge Advocate Christopher P. Wolcott, who promised the Virginians the protection of Ohio troops in case they broke with Virginia and set up a loyal Union state.[54] The proposal for the Department of Ohio had already been made to the War Department,[55] and on May 7, to carry out his promise made to Carlile, Dennison requested Washington to make western Virginia a part of the new department.[56] On the next day the Department of Ohio was created and Dennison's request was met.[57] On May 10th, John Hall of Parkersburg, Virginia, called on Governor Dennison and asked that Parkersburg be occupied.[58] Dennison relayed the request to McClellan who advised delay, calling attention to the danger of placing raw recruits on the frontier, and stated that his plan was to strike effectively when he was ready.[59] McClellan at this time was giving his attention to the organization of his secret service, of which he had high hopes,[60] and which later proved to contribute much to his downfall.[61] On May 13th, Dennison urged McClellan to move, but the reply was that occupation would be unwise until the people of western Virginia had given their decision regarding withdrawal from the Union.[62] Carlile telegraphed Columbus from Wheeling on May 20th that Virginia troops, under Governor Letcher's orders, were marching on Wheeling, with the avowed purpose of breaking up the loyal convention.[63] Governor Dennison relayed the information to Generals McClellan and Scott.[64]

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[53] Reid, *op. cit.*, I, p. 39.
[54] *Ibid.*
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 35.
[56] *Ibid.* p. 47.
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] *Ibid.*
[59] *Ibid.*
[60] *Ibid.*
[61] Writers commonly agree that erroneous reports from his secret service led McClellan into the habit of overestimating the strength of the enemy before him. This fault began to develop in the campaign for the Tygarts Valley and continued throughout his career.
[62] Reid, *op. cit.*, I, p. 48. The referendum on the Ordinance of Secession was to be held, May 23.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 47.
[64] *Ibid.*

Although help from Ohio had been promised, western Virginians were making military plans of their own. Benjamin F. Kelley, who had left his position with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at Philadelphia and had returned to his home at Wheeling,[65] was raising troops.[66] At Grafton George R. Latham, the editor of the *Western Virginian,* had a company of soldiers organized by May 20th.[67] Facing him was one company of Virginians at Philippi and two at Fetterman.[68] On May 22, the day before the secession election, Captain William P. Thompson marched his Virginia troops through the streets of Grafton.[69] Feeling was tense and that night two scouts of Latham's company encountered pickets of the Virginia force at the railroad crossing at Fetterman.[70] On being ordered to halt, Bailey Brown, who had been a leader in organizing with Captain Latham, fired his pistol, wounding private O. W. S. Knight in the ear.[71] Knight fired his musket and Brown was instantly killed.[72] Private Daniel Wilson, who had been Brown's companion, returned to Grafton and reported the incident, whereupon Latham decided to remove his company. He marched his men, by a route around Fetterman, to Valley Falls from which point he entrained for Wheeling where he joined Kelley.[73]

Both the Secretary of War[74] and General Scott were urging the dispatch of Ohio troops into Virginia to protect loyalists and break up Virginia mobilizations.[75] On the night of May 24th, two railroad bridges between Farmington and Mannington were burned.[76] Although McClellan had not fully completed his plans for an ad-

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[65] Frank S. Reader, *History of the Fifth West Virginia Cavalry, Formerly the Second Virginia Infantry, and of Battery G, First West Virginia Light Artillery,* New Brighton, Pa.: F. S. Reader, 1890, p. 41.
[66] *Official Records,* I, Vol. II, p. 45.
[67] *Reader, op. cit.,* p. 28.
[68] *Ibid.*
[69] *Ibid.,* p. 29.
[70] *Ibid.,* p. 50.
[71] *Ibid.*
[72] *Ibid.*
[73] *Ibid.,* p. 29.
[74] Reid, *op. cit.,* I, p. 48.
[75] *Official Records,* I, Vol. II, p. 48.
[76] *Ibid.,* p. 44.

vance,[77] troops were ordered to move on May 26.[78] McClellan was at Camp Dennison when he received news of the destruction of the bridges and he immediately went to Cincinnati.[79] The First and Second Virginia Regiments under Colonel Kelley, were ordered to move from Wheeling towards Fairmont via railroad, guarding bridges as they proceeded.[80] The Sixteenth Ohio, under Colonel J. Irvine, was ordered to Bellaire to act in support of the Virginians, and the Fourteenth Ohio, under Colonel J. B. Steedman, with the support of the Eighteenth Ohio and two light guns,[81] was ordered to move from Marietta to occupy Parkersburg and the Northwestern Virginia Railroad. On the same day orders were issued to Brigadier General Thomas A. Morris, commanding Indiana troops at Indianapolis, to be prepared to move two regiments to Parkersburg and Wheeling.[82] This move, as well as all the others, was to be kept secret, and the destination of the departing troops was to be given out at Pittsburgh.[83] Troop movements having been arranged, McClellan issued the first of his famous proclamations.[84] The advance was made with the utmost caution to avoid even a partial setback at the beginning.[85] Kelley had instructions to remain in observation and call for help in case he discovered a hostile force where there was any doubt as to the outcome.[86] His instructions were also to the effect that he was not to advance on Grafton until he had positive information that a junction with Colonel Steedman could be made there.[87] It is evident that McClellan had no reliable information as to Confederate strength, in spite of his extensive planning and his boasted secret service.

Colonel Kelley was not as cautious as his commanding officer. He left Wheeling on the morning of May 27, at

[77] *Ibid.*, p. 45.
[78] *Ibid.*, p. 44.
[79] *Ibid.*
[80] *Ibid.*
[81] *Ibid.*
[82] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[83] *Ibid.*
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] *Ibid.*, p. 45.
[86] *Ibid.*, p. 46.
[87] *Ibid.*

seven o'clock,[88] and the same day detailed Company A to guard the railroad at Glovers Gap (at that time an important operating point), and to break up a Confederate organization in process of formation under Captain Christian Roberts.[89] A detachment of Company A under Lieutenant Oliver R. West encountered Robert's company, and in the fighting that ensued Roberts was killed and his company dispersed.[90] By 5:00 p. m., Kelley reported his command at Mannington. and moving forward four miles to repair bridges.[91] Colonel Irvine was being left in command at Mannington.[92] Colonel Kelley repaired the bridges near Farmington and reached Grafton at 2:30 p. m., May 30,[93] which point he found had been evacuated by the Confederates.[94]

Colonel Steedman was encountering considerable destruction on the railroad between Parkersburg and Grafton and was still enroute.[95]

While his forces were occupying the railroad lines McClellan, still at Cincinnati, was planning to lead a column up the Great Kanawha Valley.[96] His scheme was to occupy a Confederate camp at Buffalo, move on and take Gauley Bridge, and return to Ohio to lead an advance into Kentucky and Tennessee.[97]

The activities of Ohio troops in western Virginia had a most depressing effect on the Confederate cause there, and caused a burst of enthusiasm for the Union.[98] Inasmuch as Colonel Porterfield had been able to recruit only about 500 men at Grafton,[99] on hearing of the advance of Ohio troops he decided to retire to Philippi.[100] Enroute to Philippi he was strengthened by the arrival of a company of volunteers from Upshur County, and a well armed

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 45.
[89] Reader, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
[90] *Ibid.*
[91] *Official Records*, I, Vol. 11, p. 45.
[92] *Ibid.*
[93] *Ibid.*, p. 49.
[94] *Ibid.*
[95] *Ibid.*, p. 50.
[96] *Ibid.*
[97] *Ibid.*
[98] *Ibid.*
[99] *Ibid.*, p. 51.
[100] *Ibid.*

cavalry company from Rockbridge.[101] In spite of the fact that he had been forced to disband cavalry companies from Barbour and Pocahontas Counties because of lack of arms,[102] he was planning to recapture Grafton and destroy the railroad east and west of that point.[103]

The Confederate cause was meeting with little more success in the Kanawha Valley than it had around Grafton. Colonel C. Q. Tompkins, in charge of raising troops, found much disaffection.[104] On May 30, he reported that he had 340 men under his command and expected to have not more than 1,000 when the companies in formation completed their organization.[105] He doubted that the militia would answer the call.[106] In an attempt to bolster the Confederate cause the Virginia Advisory Council on June 1, ordered the militia of Bath, Pocahontas, Pendleton, Highland, Randolph, Barbour, and Tucker Counties to assemble with their arms, and to proceed to Philippi to reinforce Colonel Porterfield.[107] Porterfield was ordered to destroy the railroad bridge at Cheat River and to use every possible means of destruction on both branches of the line west of Grafton.[108]

Union troops from Ohio and Indiana continued to reach Grafton and on the evening of June 1, Brigadier General Thomas A. Morris arrived and assumed command.[109] He found Colonel Kelley preparing to lead an expedition against Philippi that evening, but after a conference the attack was postponed until the night of June 2,[110] and new plans were made.[111] The plan, as revised, was for two columns to operate against Philippi, one on each side of the river.[112] Colonel Kelley was to announce his destination as Harpers Ferry and to move by the railroad

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[101] *Ibid.*
[102] *Ibid.*
[103] *Ibid.*
[104] *Ibid.*, p. 50.
[105] *Ibid.*
[106] *Ibid.*
[107] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. LI, part II, p. 124.
[108] *Ibid.*
[109] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. II, p. 66.
[110] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[111] *Ibid.*
[112] *Ibid.*

to a point near present Thornton with the First Virginia, nine companies of the Ninth Indiana commanded by Colonel R. H. Milroy, and six companies of the Sixteenth Ohio under Colonel J. Irvine, and from there he was to march to Philippi.[113] Arrival before the town was scheduled for 4:00 a. m., June 3.[114]

The column on the right was commanded by Colonel Ebenezer Dumont of the Seventh Indiana.[115] He was ordered to proceed, with his regiment, to Webster at 8:30 p. m., June 2, and there to unite with the Fourteenth Ohio, which had two pieces of artillery, under Colonel J. B. Steedman, and the Sixth Indiana, under Colonel T. T. Crittenden.[116] The column was to march from Webster to Philippi and to schedule their arrival before the enemy to coincide with Kelly's arrival.[117] Dumont's column was to divert the enemy while Kelley attacked.[118] Kelley was to command after the columns united,[119] and, in case the enemy had retreated from Philippi, Kelley was directed to pursue him beyond Beverly.[120]

The attack was a complete success. A heavy storm so delayed Colonel Dumont that his force had to cover the last five miles of the march in one hour and fifteen minutes.[121] Dumont opened with artillery from about 400 yards east of the town fifteen minutes before Kelley, who was wounded in the right breast during the short action.[122] When Dumont's troops forced the passage of the bridge across the Tygart River the Confederates broke and fled,[123] with a loss of six killed.[124] The Union force had none killed and reported only Colonel Kelley wounded.[125] The Confederate supply depot, consisting of camp equip-

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[113] *Ibid.*
[114] *Ibid.*
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 67.
[116] *Ibid.*
[117] *Ibid.*
[118] *Ibid.*
[119] *Ibid.*
[120] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[121] *Ibid.*, p. 67.
[122] *Ibid.*, p. 68
[123] *Ibid.*, p. 67.
[124] *Ibid.*, p. 68.
[125] *Ibid.*

ment, arms, ammunition, wagons, horses, and medical stores, was captured.[126]

The Confederates retreated to Beverly,[127] and most of the Union force remained at Philippi as an advance guard.[128] The total Confederate force in the action was about 1,000 men.[129] There is no report of the strength of the two Union columns, but twenty-one infantry companies and two pieces of artillery are mentioned in the reports and an estimate of the force would be about 2,000 men.

At the request of Colonel Porterfield a court of inquiry was assembled at Beverly on June 20.[130] The court reported on July 4, finding that Porterfield was defeated because of his failure to take proper defense measures, failure to withdraw before a superior force because of weather conditions, and a misunderstanding of orders which resulted in pickets coming in, leaving the post exposed to attack.[131] Porterfield had already been replaced as commander of Confederate forces in northwest Virginia by Brigadier General Robert S. Garnett.[132]

Union troops guarded the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from the Ohio River to Cumberland, and the first phase of the war in western Virginia was over.

RICH MOUNTAIN AND THE KANAWHA VALLEY

With the railroad lines secure the next problem facing McClellan was the removal of Confederate forces from northwest Virginia. The first part of June was spent in strengthening the railroad positions and in preparation of troops for a campaign. By the middle of June plans were maturing, and on June 18, W. S. Rosecrans, who had been promoted to brigadier general, left Columbus to assume his command in Virginia. The army was being assembled, and on June 21, McClellan reached Parkers-

[126] *Ibid.*
[127] *Ibid.*
[128] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[129] *Ibid.*, p. 70.
[130] *Ibid.*, p. 73.
[131] *Ibid.*
[132] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

burg from Marietta.[133] On June 23, he was in Grafton waiting for nine more regiments and two artillery batteries which were enroute.[134]

His arrival at Grafton was marked by proclamations to the people and to the army.[135] He was bothered by information that a large force of Confederates had occupied Romney and were covering guerrilla operations toward Piedmont.[136] As he had more important matters at hand, he was trying to have Romney cleared by General Robert S. Patterson's forces stationed at Hagerstown.[137] On June 26, a detail from the Eleventh Indiana Volunteers, which was stationed at Cumberland, was attacked and dispersed on Patterson Creek while on a scout toward Romney.[138]

McClellan, together with Baltimore and Ohio Railroad officials, felt that the line was still in grave danger.[139] Bridges and trestles were being explored by enemy parties who planned further destructions.[140] The railroad was willing to make repairs, provided the army would protect the line.[141] He enforced his request for action on the part of Pennsylvania troops by explaining that if they would move, the war frontier would be forced south and his left flank would thus receive protection that would enable him to speed his operations and extend them to the Kanawha.[142]

McClellan was worried by reports as to the strength of the enemy.[143] General Morris, at Philippi, was certain that he was very strong, but McClellan felt ready for him.[144] He knew that there was a Confederate force near Huttonsville with an outpost on Laurel Mountain between Philippi and Beverly. He accordingly planned to

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[133] *Ibid.*, p. 194.
[134] *Ibid.*, p. 195.
[135] *Ibid.*, *pp.* 96, 196-197. The sentiments are those expressed in the proclamations of May 26. The language just as florid.
[136] *Ibid.*, p. 195.
[137] *Ibid.*
[138] *Ibid.*, p. 134.
[139] *Ibid.*, p. 731.
[140] *Ibid.*
[141] *Ibid.*
[142] *Ibid.*
[143] *Ibid.*, p. 194.
[144] *Ibid.*

advance with all his available force from Clarksburg to Buckhannon, and thence to Beverly.[145] He expected to turn the force on Laurel Mountain, with Morris's command to follow the retreat while he attacked Huttonsville.[146] After a trip to the railroad bridge at Cheat River to correct the defenses,[147] he was ready for his advance and by July 3, had reached Buckhannon.[148]

The advance was complicated by the presence of small, irregular bands of Confederates who were active along the Ohio and in the interior counties. Early in July it was necessary to commence a program of arresting certain civilians who were active in behalf of secession.[149] They were imprisoned at Camp Chase at Columbus.[150] To Rosecrans was assigned the task of pacification.[151] He sent the Seventeenth Ohio to Petroleum and thence through the Hughes River Valley and to Glenville,[152] where it was surrounded and had to be rescued by detachments from Weston.[153]

Another detachment of the Seventeenth Ohio, under Major William H. Steele, left Clarksburg on June 27, for the Ohio River.[154] After detaching companies at Ravenswood and Belleville it reached Ripley at 4:00 a. m., June 29, where the postmaster and eighty other Confederates were arrested.[155] After establishing a new postmaster the detail returned to Ravenswood.[156]

On June 29, the Seventh Ohio left Clarksburg for Weston where it confiscated $27,000 in gold for the loyal government of Virginia.[157] The specie had been deposited in the bank at Weston for use in the completion of the insane hospital.[158] The Seventh encountered no opposition

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[145] *Ibid.*, p. 195.
[146] *Ibid.*
[147] *Ibid.*
[148] McClellan, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
[149] Hayes, *op. cit.*, II, p. 37.
[150] *Ibid.*
[151] *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, p. 213.
[152] *Ibid.*
[153] *Ibid.*, p. 212.
[154] *Ibid.*, p. 213.
[155] *Ibid.*
[156] *Ibid.*
[157] Reid, *op. cit.*, II, p. 57.
[158] *Ibid.*

during the raid, and went into camp on the hill above the hospital to await the advance of the rest of the army.[159]

From Buckhannon details were dispatched to reconnoiter the country. On July 5, a detail of fifty men from Company A, Third Ohio, felt out the approaches to Rich Mountain and found the bridge crossing Roaring Creek, at the foot of the slope, occupied by Confederates.[160] The detail made an effort to dislodge the enemy but failed in an action in which it lost one man killed and five wounded.[161]

On July 5, the army was ready to resume its advance against the enemy. It was protected in the rear as follows: eleven companies at Cheat River bridge, one regiment at Grafton, eight companies at Clarksburg, six companies at Parkersburg with two Indiana regiments in reserve, six companies in Wirt County, four companies at Ravenswood, four companies at Glenville, and one regiment at Weston.[162] There were fifty-one companies and a battery of artillery at Philippi to take part in the campaign,[163] and McClellan had six regiments and six detached companies of infantry, two batteries, and two companies of cavalry, with five or six detached companies of infantry expected within twenty-four hours.[164] He also detached companies to French Creek, Bulltown, and Spencer Court House.[165]

Troop disposition was complicated by the fact that the early troops had enlisted for only ninety days and their terms were expiring.[166] Through July and August there was an immense counter movement between Virginia and Ohio as the three-month men went home to be mustered out. In return three-year men were sent as replacements.[167]

On July 6, General Morris received orders for his part

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159 *Ibid.*
160 *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, p. 28.
161 *Ibid.*
162 *Ibid.*, p. 30.
163 *Ibid.*
164 *Ibid.*
165 *Ibid.*, p. 200.
166 Hayes, *op. cit.*, II, p. 45.
167 *Ibid.*

in the attack.[168] He was to leave his baggage train at Philippi and advance to Barkers Mill Run and occupy the high points on Yeager's farm, just north of Belington.[169] He was to occupy Belington with an advance guard and reconnoiter from there, and be prepared to pursue a retreat from Laurel Mountain.[170] On July 8, Morris reported a skirmish in the woods south of Belington, in which his pickets were driven in with a loss of two killed and three wounded,[171] and rumors of enemy reinforcements from the direction of Beverly.[172]

While Morris was getting in position, McClellan was at Buckhannon waiting for supplies,[173] which arrived on July 7.[174] He expected to find the enemy in position on Rich Mountain, and he intended to dislodge him by maneuvering rather than fighting.[175] He hoped to turn the position to the south and occupy the Beverly road in his rear.[176] He had received information that enemy forces at Huttonsville had moved toward Beverly.[177]

By July 7, the Fourth and Ninth Ohio, with one cavalry company and one battery, were at the bridge crossing Middle Fork,[178] and the Tenth Indiana was moving up in support.[179] When the main column reached Middle Fork, the First Brigade, in command of General Rosecrans, was advanced toward Rich Mountain on reconnaissance.[180] The enemy was discovered to be entrenched in a strong position across the Staunton-Parkersburg Pike at a point where the Pike entered a defile leading to the top of Rich Mountain,[181] with a rear guard at the crest of the mountain on the Hart farm.[182]

On the evening of July 10, pickets of Rosecrans' Brigade

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[168] *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, p. 209.
[169] *Ibid.*
[170] *Ibid.*
[171] *Ibid.*, p. 218.
[172] *Ibid.*, p. 219.
[173] *Ibid.*, p. 199.
[174] *Ibid.*, p. 201.
[175] *Ibid.*, p. 199.
[176] *Ibid.*
[177] *Ibid.*
[178] *Ibid.*, p. 201.
[179] *Ibid.*
[180] *Ibid.*, p. 215.
[181] *Ibid.*, p. 205.
[182] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

encountered one of the Hart family, a lad, who told them that it would be possible to reach the crest of Rich Mountain by a path leading to the right of the Pike on the east side of Roaring Creek.[183] The lad was taken to Rosecrans who secured his promise to guide a flanking movement.[184] Rosecrans rode to McClellan's headquarters about 10:00 p. m., on July 10,[185] and proposed the plan to the commander, who consented to it after some hesitation.[186] As reconnaissance to the Confederate front by Lieutenant Orlando Poe, during the morning of July 10, had convinced McClellan that a direct assault would be successful only with a heavy loss of life, he had planned on crossing the mountain by a little used road leading to the left of the Pike on the western slope and returning to it at a point half way down the eastern side.[187]

In the revised plan McClellan was to strike the main works as soon as Rosecrans opened on top of the mountain.[188] Rosecrans' attack was revealed to the enemy as it got under way by assembly being sounded in the camp of the Nineteenth Ohio[189] in violation of orders imposing quiet.[190] The bugles were silenced and the First Brigade began its advance at daylight.[191] Colonel F. W. Lander, in company with the lad, David B. Hart, led the way,[192] followed by the Eighth, Tenth, and Thirteenth Indiana, the Nineteenth Ohio, with Burdsall's Cavalry in the rear.[193] Keeping to the southwestern side of the spur of Rich Mountain, the men moved up the slope.[194] The rain began to fall at 6:00 a. m., and continued all morning.[195]

As the head of the column reached the mountain top, about noon, a halt was ordered,[196] while General Rose-

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[183] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, a History*. New York: the Century Company, 1890, IV, p. 335.
[184] *Ibid.*
[185] *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, p. 214.
[186] Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 335.
[187] *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, p. 205.
[188] *Ibid.*, p. 206.
[189] *Ibid.*, p. 214.
[190] *Ibid.*
[191] *Ibid.*
[192] *Ibid.*
[193] *Ibid.*
[194] *Ibid.*
[195] *Ibid.*

crans and Colonel Lander examined the country,[197] but the Hart boy was too scared to be of any assistance to them.[198] Nevertheless, they found a valley, a hill, and then a descent to the Pike, where the enemy was entrenched.[199]

After correcting confused directions at the head of the column, the advance got under way again at 2:00 p. m.[200] with the Tenth Indiana ahead.[201] With Company A of the Tenth deployed as skirmishers in advance,[202] a line of battle was formed with the Tenth at the center, Thirteenth Indiana to the right, and the Nineteenth Ohio to the left[203] Colonel Sullivan misunderstood his orders and brought the whole of the Thirteenth Indiana into the line instead of keeping part of his regiment back in reserve.[204]

With the line formed, after a forty minute delay, the order to advance was given, and, as the line came out of the woods above the Hart house, the Confederates opened fire with case shot and muskets.[205] Fire was returned and as the fire took effect a company of the Tenth Indiana was deployed to the right, and the Eighth Indiana ordered to pass through the line and attack the Confederate battery in column.[206] At the same time Colonel Sullivan was ordered to bring four companies of his reserve around to the extreme left.[207] The Eighth Indiana, instead of passing through the line, entered the line of battle, but as the action was general by this time, the error was ignored and a charge made along the entire line.[208] As the full force of the charge developed, the Confederates broke and dispersed.[209] The Tenth Indiana foiled the Confederate effort to move their cannon from the scene by shooting their horses.[210] Companies E and K, of the Tenth, took the

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[196] *Ibid.*
[197] *Ibid.*
[198] *Ibid.*
[199] *Ibid.*
[200] *Ibid.*, p. 215.
[201] *Ibid.*
[202] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. LI, part 1, p. 9.
[203] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. II, p. 216.
[204] *Ibid.*
[205] *Ibid.*
[206] *Ibid.*
[207] *Ibid.*
[208] *Ibid.*
[209] *Ibid.*
[210] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. LI, part I, p. 10.

pieces,[211] and placed them in position to command the Pike toward Beverly,[212] while Companies B and G of the same regiment were placed as advance on the Pike toward Camp Garnett.[213] At the extreme right of the action Companies E and G, of the Thirteenth Indiana, advanced toward Beverly when the Pike was gained.[214] Here they encountered a force of fifty men, led by Captain Skipworth and Lieutenant Dorset, bringing a brass six-pounder to the aid of the Confederates.[215] After a sharp action of several minutes, during which Skipworth was killed, the detail fled leaving Dorset and the cannon captives.[216]

At the Hart farm Rosecrans learned from a prisoner that the Forty-fourth Virginia Infantry and some Georgia troops were at Camp Garnett at the foot of the mountain,[217] but as it was too late in the day to organize an attack the men were bivouaced.[218] The captured cannons were replaced on the Pike, one in each direction.[219]

About 3:00 a. m., pickets brought in a captive who reported that the enemy at Camp Garnett was disorganized and dispersing. [220] Immediately the Nineteenth Ohio was ordered to the ridge south of the Pike, the Thirteenth to the north of the Pike, while Company C, of the Tenth Indiana, and Burdsall's Cavalry were ordered to reconnoiter down the Pike.[221] The Tenth and Eighth Indiana were left on the field to bury the dead.[222]

Camp Garnett was entered about six o'clock and found abandoned.[223] Ten officers, five noncommissioned officers, fifty-four privates were taken prisoners, and a large amount of military stores was captured.[224] Rosecrans' total force in the action numbered 1,917 men,[225] and his losses

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[211] *Ibid.*
[212] *Ibid.*
[213] *Ibid.*
[214] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[215] *Ibid.*
[216] *Ibid.*
[217] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. II, p. 216.
[218] *Ibid.*
[219] *Ibid.*
[220] *Ibid.*
[221] *Ibid.*
[222] *Ibid.*
[223] *Ibid.*
[224] *Ibid.*, p. 217.
[225] *Ibid.*, p. 215.

were twelve killed and forty-nine wounded.[226] The action at the Hart farm lasted one hour and thirty minutes.[227]

Several hours after Rosecrans left Roaring Creek McClellan ordered Lieutenant Orlando Poe, with a large detail from the Third and Fourth Ohio, to locate a position which would either enfilade or command the rear of Camp Garnett with artillery, providing guns could be placed without alarming the enemy.[228] Poe's detail encountered a patrol of about 250 enemy and halted without engaging in action.[229] McClellan ordered Poe to advance, and the Confederate patrol fell back without offering fire.[230]

Poe returned to McClellan in about three hours and reported that a road to an excellent position could be made by 5:00 p. m.[231] McClellan had his men drawn up, ready for an attack,[232] but because Rosecrans had not sent back hourly reports after 11:00 a. m.,[233] he was of the opinion that he had been defeated.[234] Nevertheless, the road was built by a detail from the Fourth Ohio,[235] and the Ninth Ohio held the position during the night of the 11th.[236] Howe's Battery was to occupy the position on the morning of the 12th,[237] but just as the guns were ready to move forward word came through that the Confederate position had been evacuated.[238] On July 13, the Federals occupied Beverly where McClellan learned that General Garnett had retreated from Laurel Mountain via Saint George.[239] He ordered Brigadier General Charles W. Hill, commanding at Grafton, to cut off the retreat at Saint George or at West Union (present Aurora) on the Northwestern Turnpike.[240]

While McClellan was at Beverly Colonel John Pegram,

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226 *Ibid.*, p. 217.
227 *Ibid.*, p. 218.
228 *Ibid.*, I, Vol. LI, part I, p. 13.
229 *Ibid.*
230 *Ibid.*
231 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
232 *Ibid.*
233 *Ibid.*, I, Vol. II, p. 206.
234 *Ibid.*, I, Vol. LI, part I, p. 14.
235 *Ibid.*
236 *Ibid.*
237 *Ibid.*
238 *Ibid.*, I, Vol. II, p. 206.
239 *Ibid.*
240 *Ibid.*, p. 207.

who had been in command at Camp Garnett, being without support because of Garnett's retreat and without supplies or provisions,[241] surrendered thirty-three officers and 560 men.[242] Pegram's total force at Rich Mountain was 877 officers and men, with 391 at Beverly.[243] There is no record of Confederate casualties at Rich Mountain. About half of Pegram's command escaped capture or surrender.

On July 14, McClellan established headquarters at Huttonsville.[244]

On the day of the battle of Rich Mountain General Garnett withdrew from his position on Laurel Mountain to make a junction with Pegram at Beverly, but before he reached that town he heard of the disaster to Confederate arms and quickly decided to withdraw to the Valley via Cheat River and the Northwestern Turnpike. General Morris had the Fourteenth Ohio, the Seventh and Ninth Indiana Regiments in advance under Captain H. W. Benham,[245] who did not start in pursuit of Garnett until July 12, and then moved only as far as Leadsville (present Elkins), where he stopped his column to rest.[246] General Morris took up the pursuit with the balance of his force.[247] Captain Benham resumed the pursuit at 4:00 a. m., July 13, and by noon he was at Koler's farm on Shaver's Fork of Cheat River[248] in sight of the Confederate baggage train which was at rest near Corrick's Ford,[249] but he decided to postpone an attack until the Second Battalion of the Fourteenth Ohio reached him.[250]

Thoughtless musket fire from Benham's soldiers alarmed the Confederates, and their train was started forward covered by a force in battle formation.[251] Pursuit was resumed and as the column approached Corrick's Ford skirmishers were so active that Benham brought his artillery

[241] *Ibid.*, p. 210.
[242] *Ibid.*, p. 208.
[243] *Ibid.*, p. 293.
[244] *Ibid.*, p. 208.
[245] *Ibid.*, p. 222.
[246] *Ibid.*, p. 219.
[247] *Ibid.*
[248] *Ibid.*, p. 222.
[249] *Ibid.*
[250] *Ibid.*
[251] *Ibid.*

into action to clear them from his front.[252] The enemy was overtaken at the Ford with only about half of his train across, and with infantry posted on top of the steep bank on the east shore.[253] The Fourteenth Ohio opened fire which was returned with artillery to which Barrett's Battery answered.[254]

Colonel Dumont, with six companies, was ordered to move up the stream 300 yards, cross it and gain the top of the bank by passing up the hill at the left oblique,[255] but he moved too far passing up stream and then turned right, from where he reported the hill impracticable.[256] The entire Seventh Indiana was across the river by the time Dumont's error was corrected, so he was ordered to pass down the east bank, under cover of the hill, and to attack at the road.[257] The rest of the command continued its fire as Dumont came down the stream, and as the Seventh reached the road the enemy broke and fled.[258] General Garnett was killed as his line broke.[259]

Dumont pursued the retreating troops for about one mile when a halt for food and rest was ordered.[260] Benham explained his abandonment of the pursuit as due to the fact that his men were exhausted by the eighteen-mile march through the rain,[261] thus blandly ignoring the fact that the Confederates had been moving at least sixteen hours longer than the column. About forty wagons and teams, together with baggage and camp equipment, were captured,[262] at a loss of two killed and seven wounded.[263]

There is no record of Confederate casualties, aside from General Garnett. Benham reported that fifteen or twenty were killed, but estimates of enemy losses are invariably so excessive as to be worthless.

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[252] *Ibid.*
[253] *Ibid.*
[254] *Ibid.*
[255] *Ibid.*, p. 223.
[256] *Ibid.*
[257] *Ibid.*
[258] *Ibid.*
[259] *Ibid.*
[260] *Ibid.*
[261] *Ibid.*
[262] *Ibid.*
[263] *Ibid.*

General Morris reached Corrick's Ford on the afternoon of July 13.[264] The next day he learned that the Confederates were fifteen miles ahead.[265] He moved forward to Saint George, where he remained overnight, and returned his whole command to Belington, July 15.[266] He captured twelve wagons loaded with new clothing near Saint George.[267]

The effort to intercept the Confederate retreat by Union forces guarding the railroad met with even less success. The commanding officer, Brigadier General C. W. Hill, received orders to cut off the retreat from Laurel Hill to eastern Virginia at 11:00 a. m., July 13.[268] His orders were to withdraw troops from posts along the railroad to the number of 6,000 men.[269] By 3:00 p. m., of the 13th, Hill had 5,000 men under orders to join the pursuit, made up of detachments from the Fifth, Eighth, Thirteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Twentieth, and Twenty-second Ohio Infantry, with some cavalry and artillery from the First and Second Virginia.[270] Transportation beyond the railroad was complicated by the fact that Hill had but a few horses at Grafton and there were no more available.[271] Railroad transportation was ordered as far as Oakland, Maryland, and General Hill moved with four companies at 4:00 p. m., arriving at Oakland at 10:00 p. m.[272]

From Oakland, Hill moved three companies under Major Walcott and Captain Bond, of his staff, to West Union, where the Sixteenth Ohio, under Colonel J. Irvine, was holding an advance position.[273] They joined Irvine's command at 6:00 a. m., July 14, and a few minutes later the information came in that the Confederates had passed Red House, about five miles ahead, at 5:00 a. m.[274]

Colonel Irvine explained his failure to contact the re-

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[264] *Ibid.*
[265] *Ibid.*, p. 221.
[266] *Ibid.*
[267] *Ibid.*
[268] *Ibid.*, p. 224.
[269] *Ibid.*, p. 225.
[270] *Ibid.*
[271] Reid, *op. cit.*, I, p. 812.
[272] *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, p. 225.
[273] *Ibid.*, p. 224.
[274] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

treating Confederates as due to incorrect information as to possible roads the enemy might use.[275] His explanation is weak because between July 7 and 13, he had had a detail of Ringgold's Cavalry posted on the very road the Confederates used, and residents along the Horseshoe Run Road had told Lieutenant H. A. Myers that the Confederates would pass it on Saturday the 13th, or Sunday the 14th.[276] Irvine was, however, of the opinion that he had more important places to guard,[277] and even on Saturday evening, when Lieutenant Myers gave him definite information that the Confederates were on the Horseshoe Run Road, he took no action.[278]

The force at West Union started in pursuit as soon as they got the news from Red House.[279] General Hill got the information at Oakland at 9:00 a. m., and, as the railroad had been unable to get any more men up, he started at once with twenty-five cavalry.[280] He overtook Colonel Irvine six miles east of Red House where the column had halted and a council was called.[281] The council found that the enemy was about 3,000 strong, that he had stripped the sparsely settled country of supplies leaving nothing to subsist Union troops, that the men who had marched from Oakland had had no supper and very few had any breakfast, that there was not an average of one day's rations for the column, that there was only one wagon for the entire command, and that the column did not exceed 1,300 men.[282] All but three officers favored abandonment of the pursuit, and accordingly the column returned to Red House, where it was found that there was not enough provisions for one full meal.[283] Some of the men had to march to Oakland before they could be given their suppers.[284]

During the late afternoon of the 14th, the Eighteenth

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[275] *Ibid.*, p. 229.
[276] *Ibid.*, p. 235.
[277] *Ibid.*
[278] *Ibid.*
[279] *Ibid.*, p. 225.
[280] *Ibid.*
[281] *Ibid.*, p. 226.
[282] *Ibid.*
[283] *Ibid.*, p. 227.
[284] *Ibid.*

and Twenty-second Ohio arrived at Oakland and were reinforced during the night by the Fifth Ohio.[285] That night General Hill was notified of the death of Garnett and he was ordered to pursue the retreating Confederates to the utmost.[286] Although the enemy had reached Greenland Gap, Hill was of the opinion that he could be overtaken before he reached Petersburg.[287] The renewed pursuit was accordingly begun in three columns. The Fifteenth and Sixteenth Ohio, two companies of the First Virginia, and Ringgold's Cavalry advanced on the Northwestern Turnpike;[288] the Fifth and Eighteenth Ohio, led by General Hill, moved from Oakland by a diagonal road to the Turnpike bridge over the North Branch (Gormania), where they made a junction with the column from Red House;[289] the third column, made up of companies of the Twentieth and Twenty-second Ohio, two Virginia companies and Daum's Battery moved to New Creek (Keyser), on the railroad to descend on Greenland Gap from the north.[290] By evening of July 6, Hill was five miles beyond Greenland Gap, the enemy having moved on to Petersburg on receipt of news of the advancing Union force.[291] After the march had been resumed on the morning of July 17, instruction from McClellan ordered the abandonment of the pursuit.[292] The column from New Creek, Colonel Thomas Morton commanding, had moved from that station at 3:00 a. m., on the 15th, and had reached Martin's Gap when they received orders to join Hill at Greenland Gap.[293]

The junction was made at 11:00 a. m., July 17,[294] and the united army rested until the next morning.[295] The return began on July 19.[296] Northwestern Virginia was cleared of Confederate troops.

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[285] *Ibid.*
[286] *Ibid.*
[287] *Ibid.*, p. 228.
[288] *Ibid.*
[289] *Ibid.*
[290] *Ibid.*
[291] *Ibid.*
[292] *Ibid.*
[293] *Ibid.*, p. 232.
[294] *Ibid.*
[295] *Ibid.*, p. 228.
[296] *Ibid.*

While General Hill was in pursuit of the defeated enemy, McClellan remained at Huttonsville. He was still bothered by the expiration of the enlistments of his three-month regiments and was trying to persuade army headquarters that it would be advisable to retain men in the field, who reenlisted for three years, and send replacements from Ohio, rather than to continue the practice of sending entire regiments back to Ohio to be mustered out and reenlisted.[297] Plans for future operations were also under consideration. Since July 9, McClellan had been objecting to a proposed movement either to Staunton or to Wytheville without intermediate support,[298] but after clearing his department of Confederates, his position was much stronger and on July 17, he proposed to headquarters that he move on Staunton.[299]

General Scott approved of the proposed move on Staunton and informed McClellan that General Irvin McDowell was expected to defeat a Confederate army at Manassas Junction, after which McDowell's army would give help around Winchester.[300]

As is well known, McClellan did not move on Staunton. Transportation was difficult and was possible only by the use of locally purchased horses and wagons.[301] Moreover, retirement of three-month troops was weakening the Army of Occupation, and the promised victory at Bull Run turned out to be a sad defeat.[302] McClellan proposed that the expedition to Staunton be abandoned and that his command unite with General Patterson's Pennsylvania troops for a campaign in the Valley.[303]

In the meantime, the Department of the Shenandoah had been created, which removed the Valley from McClellan's command.[304] The evident thing for it to do under such conditions was to join the slow-moving campaign for

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297 *Ibid.*, p. 742.
298 *Ibid.*, p. 202.
299 *Ibid.*, p. 743.
300 *Ibid.*
301 *Ibid.*, p. 744.
302 *Ibid.*, p. 752.
303 *Ibid.*
304 *Ibid.*, p. 172.

the Kanawha Valley by way of Summersville.[305] It was making preparations for this when, at 8:00 p. m., July 21, McClellan received a telegraphic order to come to the Shenandoah Valley with all of the troops that could be spared from western Virginia.[306]

To the south of the region cleared by McClellan lay the Kanawha Valley, and western Virginia would never be secure to the Union so long as it was occupied by Confederates. Loyal Virginians had early begun to enlist in the Confederate service under Colonel C. Q. Tompkins, a former United States Army officer and a graduate of West Point, and Brigadier General John B. Floyd, another former Virginia governor and late Secretary of War in Buchanan's cabinet, had also raised troops in southwest Virginia.[307]

As soon as his plans for the occupation of northwestern Virginia were completed, McClellan turned his attention to the Kanawha Valley. On the day he crossed the Ohio River, Jacob D. Cox, his assistant in assembling Ohio troops, was commissioned a brigadier general, U. S. Volunteers, for the purpose of leading the movement into the Kanawha region.[308] Troops had been moved to Virginia by regiments and brigaded there as the situation demanded and, at the time of his transfer to Federal service, Cox had only the Eleventh Ohio of his original command, and its organization was not yet completed.[309] The first orders for the movement were received on July 3.[310] Cox was to assume command of the First and Second Kentucky and the Twelfth Ohio, and to call on Governor Dennison for one company of cavalry and six guns.[311]

When the first regiment was ready, the order called on him to move to Gallipolis, where he was to incorporate the Twenty-first Ohio in his command, and occupy Point

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[305] *Ibid.*, p. 744.
[306] *Ibid.*, p. 749.
[307] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. V, p. 151.
[308] Cox., *op. cit.*, I, p. 59. The reports and correspondence of the Kanawha Brigade were omitted from the *Official Records* when they were published. Cox, *Military Reminiscences of the Civil War* is the best secondary information available.
[309] Cox., p. 37.
[310] *Ibid.*
[311] *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, p. 197.

Pleasant.[312] The next regiment to arrive was to occupy Letart's Falls, about twenty-five miles above Point Pleasant.[313] When the command was complete the Great Kanawha was to be penetrated as far as Ten Mile Creek, about nine miles above Point Pleasant.[314]

The plan was for Cox to remain on the defensive and to do no more than try to keep the Confederates near Charleston until they could be cut off by a movement from Beverly.[315] Cox was to advance on Charleston in case he received information that McClellan was hard pressed at Beverly, but he was cautioned against placing any credence in rumors as the movement was sure to be successful.[316] The only offensive was to be against Ripley, or the repression of outbreaks at Guyandotte or Barboursville.[317] Steamboat transportation was to be provided from Marietta by Captain W. J. Kountz.[318]

Governor Dennison ordered a battery of artillery and one company of cavalry to join the command at Gallipolis, but the only guns available were two brass six-pounders, former smooth bores that had been rifled, and the cavalry men were such raw recruits that they could be used only for messenger service.[319] The incomplete Eleventh Ohio was sent along with the brigade.[320] The Kentucky regiments consisted of Cincinnati steamboat men and longshoremen who had been enlisted by colonels from Kentucky.[321] The total strength of the brigade amounted to a few over 3,000 men,[322] while General Wise reported 132 officers and 2,354 men to oppose the column.[323]

Because of difficulty in securing railroad transportation from Camp Dennison, Cox was not able to dispatch his first regiment until July 6.[324]

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[312] *Ibid.*
[313] *Ibid.*
[314] *Ibid.*
[315] *Ibid.*
[316] *Ibid.*
[317] *Ibid.*
[318] *Ibid.*
[319] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 61.
[320] *Ibid.*
[321] *Ibid.*
[322] *Ibid.*, p. 63.
[323] *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, p. 293.
[324] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 61.

By that time McClellan had changed his mind, and Cox was ordered to occupy Ripley with one regiment and advance to Charleston and Gauley Bridge with the balance of his command.[325] All of southwestern Virginia below Parkersburg and north of the Kanawha River was made a military district and assigned to Cox. The eastern limits of the district reached as far from the Ohio River as Cox was able to occupy.[326] A regiment at Parkersburg and one at Roane Court House (Spencer) were ordered to report to General Cox,[327] but he was not authorized to move them from their posts, and they shortly joined McClellan's army.[328]

The purpose of the advance was to reopen navigation on the Kanawha River.[329] The brigade was to open communication with McClellan via Summersville and Bulltown as soon as the occupation of Gauley Bridge was accomplished.[330] McClellan wanted complete information on roads leading to Wytheville and the adjacent region.[331] If General Wise were captured, he ordered him sent to the penitentiary at Columbus.[332]

General Cox left Camp Dennison with seven companies of the Eleventh Ohio on July 7. Two days later he was in Gallipolis,[333] where he borrowed two six-pounder guns from the civil authorities.[334] These guns were smooth bore and had no caisson, and they had to be manned by volunteers from the infantry.[335] On July 10, with the additional artillery, the brigade moved to Point Pleasant.[336] On his arrival at Point Pleasant, General Cox received a report of a steamer on the Ohio River being boarded by Confederate soldiers from Guyandotte. The Kentucky regiments attached to Cox's command were moving from Cincinnati to

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[325] *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, p. 200.
[326] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 62.
[327] *Ibid.*
[328] *Ibid.*, p. 63.
[329] *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, p. 200.
[330] *Ibid.*
[331] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 62.
[332] *Ibid.*
[333] *Ibid.*, p. 63.
[334] *Ibid.*
[336] *Ibid.*
[335] *Ibid.*

the Kanawha by boat, and a messenger was sent from Point Pleasant to meet them with orders for one of the regiments to land and suppress disorder in the vicinity of Guyandotte.[337] There was danger in dividing so small a command as the Kanawha Brigade along such a long front, but the two columns were to unite by a converging movement as soon as the main column reached Red House.[338]

Cox moved from Point Pleasant by boat on July 11. His command was covered by an advance guard moving along the roads on each side of the stream[339] and accompanied by a cavalry detail.[340] Such an advance was necessarily slow, but when the boats were tied up for the first night out of Point Pleasant, thirteen miles had been covered.[341] During the night a Union sympathizer reported to General Cox that General Wise was advancing on him with 4,000 men.[342] A strong detail, commanded by Major Jonathan D. Hines, was ordered to reconnoiter beyond the picket lines and during the early morning of the 12th reported that a troop of cavalry had come within two miles of camp and had then withdrawn.[343] On July 13, the expedition encountered shoal waters which proved difficult for navigation, despite the fact that wing dams concentrated the flow in the channel at the worst points.[344] At Knob Shoals a coal barge had been sunk in the chute and the leading boat grounded.[345] Just beyond the shoals a cannon shot was heard, and a detail landed.[346] A man on the south bank told the landing party that a general engagement had opened, and the detail went ahead quickly.[347] When they met the advance column they learned that cavalry had appeared and opened a skirmishing fire but that they

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[337] *Ibid.*
[338] *Ibid.*
[339] *Ibid.*, p. 64.
[340] *Ibid.*
[341] *Ibid.*
[342] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[343] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[344] *Ibid.*
[345] *Ibid.*
[346] *Ibid.*
[347] *Ibid.*

had withdrawn when the shell was fired.[348] After July 13th, skirmishers offered continuous resistance, but it was possible to advance at the rate of about ten miles each day. On the evening of July 16, the expedition arrived at the mouth of the Pocatalico River.[349]

In spite of the difficulties encountered, McClellan was not satisfied with the rate of advance, and was of the opinion that Cox should have been at Gauley Bridge on July 12.[350]

At Poca the column was joined by the Second Kentucky, which had landed at Guyandotte and marched overland.[351] A detail from this regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel George W. Neff, had gone to Barboursville and on July 16[352] dispersed a Confederate company in process of formation.[353] Cox learned that the main force of the Wise Legion was in camp at Tyler Mountain about twelve miles from Poca.[354] For any further movement by boat it would be necessary to clear both sides of the stream,[355] and for that reason Cox was getting impatient at the delay in furnishing wagons that his brigade had been promised.[356]

A humiliating blunder occurred while the brigade was halted at Poca. As soon as the halt was made an outguard was posted on the south bank, and on receipt of reports of a considerable force on its front, another detachment was sent across the Kanawha in support.[357] Shortly after their landing a shot was heard followed by a volley, and a third detachment was passed over the river, but no enemy was found.[358] It developed that the first two detachments had fired at each other in the darkness with a result of two men killed.[359]

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[348] *Ibid.*, p. 67.
[349] *Ibid.*
[350] *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, p. 203.
[351] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 68.
[352] *Ibid.*
[353] *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, p. 288.
[354] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 68.
[355] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[356] *Ibid.*
[357] *Ibid.*, p. 67.
[358] *Ibid.*
[359] *Ibid.*

On the morning of July 17, a reconnoitering party along the south bank of the Kanawha reported about 500 of the enemy entrenched on the east bank of Scary Creek which was not fordable at its mouth, but could be passed a short distance up stream.[360] Colonel John W. Lowe asked permission to drive the party out with the Twelfth Ohio and the two cannons, and it was so ordered, so the main column might move up the north bank of the Kanawha against skirmishers, as soon as the force on the south shore was dislodged.[361] The Twelfth and two companies of the Twenty-first crossed the Kanawha just after noon.[362]

The first report was that the enemy was retreating, but just before evening the Union force returned and reported that they had been unable to locate the ford up Scary Creek and that they had been repulsed while trying to cross Scary at its mouth.[363] Colonel Lowe withdrew because his ammunition was running short, with a loss of ten killed and thirty-five wounded.[364] It developed that both sides had withdrawn from the action, but that the Confederates returned when they learned of Lowe's retreat.[365]

During the course of the action, Colonel William E. Woodruff and Lieutenant Colonel Neff of the Second Kentucky, and Colonel Charles A. De Villiers of the Eleventh Ohio, rode out in front on the north shore. When they heard that the Confederates had retreated, they got a Negro to row them across the river where they found that the force that they thought theirs was Confederate, and they were taken prisoners.[366] General Cox was angry at the incident, because the officers were out without permission.[367] He blamed it on the "hare-brained De Villiers."[368]

Inasmuch as it had been decided to turn the Confederate position at Tyler Mountain by a road leading away

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[360] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[361] *Ibid.*
[362] *Ibid.*
[363] *Ibid.*
[364] *Ibid.*
[365] *Ibid.*, p. 70.
[366] Ibid.
[367] *Ibid.*
[368] *Ibid.*

from the river, and as it was not practicable to use steamboats with the enemy in front in force, the brigade was held at Poca until such time as wagons could come up.[369] The advance of the Kanawha Brigade was thus temporarily halted.

While Cox was idling on the Kanawha and McClellan was making plans at Beverly, McDowell's army met a crushing defeat at Bull Run. As the extent of the defeat was realized McClellan was ordered to move to the Shenandoah Valley with all the men he could spare from western Virginia,[370] but at 1:00 a. m., July 22, the order was countermanded. At the same time McClellan was informed that five more regiments would come from Ohio, and that J. J. Reynolds had been commissioned brigadier general and ordered to report to him.[371] Later on the same day McClellan was ordered to turn his command over to Rosecrans, or some other general, and report to Washington without delay.[372] The confusion in Washington and Beverly is evidenced by General Scott's telegram of 9:30 p. m., July 22, which said:

> "Bring no troops with you. The successor in the Ohio Department may need them all in western Virginia, including the five new regiments from Ohio in addition, and others probably from Indiana."[373]

On July 23, McClellan advised headquarters that he would reach the railroad on the 24th and come directly to Washington.[374] Rosecrans was left in command to carry out his plans with respect to the Kanawha Valley.[375]

On July 25, General Orders No. 37 announced the merging of the Departments of Washington and Northeastern Virginia under the command of Major General George B. McClellan, with headquarters at Washington.[376] The victor at Rich Mountain had received the most important command in the Union Army!

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[369] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[370] *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, p. 749.
[371] *Ibid.*, p. 753.
[372] *Ibid.*
[373] *Ibid.*, p. 755.
[374] *Ibid.*, p. 759.
[375] *Ibid.*
[376] *Ibid.*, p. 763.

GAULEY BRIDGE, CROSS LANES, AND CARNIFEX FERRY

The promotion of General McClellan had no effect on the plans of Cox's Kanawha Brigade. Wagons enough for transport had reached him by July 23,[377] and leaving a regiment to protect the steamers, the next morning[378] he began his advance on Tyler Mountain, seven miles below Charleston.[379] His route lay on a rough road over broken country, which made for slow marching, but he reached the Confederate camp by evening.[380] The attack took the enemy by such complete surprise that supper was left cooking and the camp was abandoned.[381] The steamer *Moffett* was at the south bank, opposite the point where the road returned to the river, loading a supply of wheat for the Confederate army.[382] A shot was fired into her from the north shore, upon which the detail at work set fire to the boat and hastily withdrew.[383]

The next morning a party of citizens from Charleston, headed by the mayor, waited on General Cox, with the information that General Wise had withdrawn and that the town was clear.[384] The advance was at once resumed and the next camp made by the Kanawha Brigade was above Charleston.[385] Entrance was delayed for a short time by the fact that the Confederates had cut the cables of the suspension bridge over Elk River and it was necessary to build a pontoon bridge from coal barges tied up in the stream.[386]

July 26th was spent in preparation for the advance to Gauley Bridge, which point Cox was quite confident he could take.[387] Water communication between Charleston and Gallipolis was established, and provisions were made for wagon transport from the head of navigation of the

[377] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 71.
[378] *Ibid.*
[379] Reid, *op. cit.*, I, p. 772.
[380] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 71.
[381] *Ibid.*
[382] *Ibid.*
[383] *Ibid.*
[384] *Ibid.*, p. 72.
[385] *Ibid.*
[386] *Ibid.*
[387] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

Kanawha to such points as the expedition might occupy.[388] The people of Charleston were notified that no inquiry would be made into the personal opinions of those who minded their own business, but that any communication with the enemy would be punished.[389] Accurate information was obtained concerning the strength of the enemy.[390]

Although General Rosecrans did not expect Cox to occupy Gauley Bridge,[391] it was decided to continue the advance as far up the Kanawha as possible.[392] Cox was deeply humiliated by his failure at Scary Creek which prevented him from advancing directly to Charleston,[393] and he wanted to achieve something to wipe out the memory of the delay at Poca.[394] Accordingly, as soon as the First Kentucky came up from Ravenswood on July 26, the advance was resumed.[395] The Twenty-first Ohio had not reenlisted and had been ordered returned to Ohio.[396] That regiment was left to garrison Charleston until Gauley Bridge was occupied and another regiment could be sent back to its relief.[397]

When camp had been made on the first night out, three officers notified Cox that it was too dangerous to try to continue up the narrow Kanawha Valley and that they would refuse to lead their commands any further.[398] Cox was able to control himself and quietly accused them of mutiny.[399] When they realized their position, they insisted that they meant only to ask for a consultation before the advance was continued.[400] The commanding officer refused to call a council and immediately issued formal orders to march the next morning.[401] Later in the night the men

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[388] *Ibid.*, p. 72.
[389] *Ibid.*, p. 73.
[390] *Ibid.*
[391] *Ibid.*, p. 74.
[392] *Ibid.*, p. 72.
[393] *Ibid.*, p. 73.
[394] *Ibid.*
[395] *Ibid.*, p. 74.
[396] *Ibid.*
[397] *Ibid.*
[398] *Ibid.*, p. 75.
[399] *Ibid.*
[400] *Ibid.*
[401] *Ibid.*

apologized to General Cox for their conduct, and the incident was closed.[402]

The expedition was further embarrassed by two newspaper correspondents who had attached themselves at Charleston. Argued because General Cox refused to include them among his staff, they wrote dispatches which seriously reflected on the morale of the brigade and the competence of its commander.[403] It was a difficult personal situation for Cox, as his appointment as Brigadier General, U. S. Volunteers was then before the Senate for confirmation.[404] The newspaper stories created such a furor that only the personal intervention of General McClellan saved Cox's appointment from rejection.[405]

With the exception of these personal irritations the occupation of the upper Great Kanawha Valley continued almost without incident. Although the rear guard of the Wise Legion felled trees across the roads and skirmished with the head of the column, no serious resistance to Cox's advance was offered. The Kanawha Brigade was therefore able to progress from twelve to fifteen miles each day, and Gauley Bridge was peacefully occupied on July 29.[406]

As the Kanawha Brigade was not molested for a week after it occupied Gauley Bridge, the time was used to good advantage in exploring the surrounding region.[407] General Wise had burned the bridge across Gauley River,[408] so a ferry was constructed by stretching a cable along the piers of the burned structure.[409] The First Kentucky was stationed at Kanawha Falls to guard the mills and the ferry there, and to cover the road leading from the south shore to Fayetteville.[410] For an advance post, half of a regiment was posted at the Tompkins farm, Gauley Mount, three miles up the Kanawha and James River Turnpike to scout

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402 *Ibid.*
403 *Ibid.*, p. 77.
404 *Ibid.*
405 *Ibid.*
406 *Ibid.*, p. 78.
407 *Ibid.*, p. 84.
408 *Ibid.*, p. 78.
409 *Ibid.*, p. 84.
410 *Ibid.*

the country as far to the east as Sewell Mountain, while small posts were established up Gauley River.[411]

Fortification was necessary to secure Gauley Bridge from attack, and on August 5, Lieutenant Orlando G. Wagner of Rosecrans' staff, arrived to superintend construction[412] in place of Colonel Charles Whittlesley, the official engineer of the Kanawha Brigade, who was handicapped by advanced years.[413] For a few days Lieutenant Wagner was assisted by Captain H. W. Benham,[414] the same officer who had led the pursuit at Corrick's Ford, a U. S. Army engineer of twenty-five years standing, and of whom Cox had a low opinion.[415] An epaulement was made high up on the hill, behind which cannons were placed to cover the ferry and the Kanawha and James River Turnpike up New River.[416] An infantry trench, with a parapet of barrels filled with earth, was dug along the river and thence up a creek to a deep gorge.[417] A redoubt was built at the mouth of the creek and fortified with cannons.[418] Behind such works a comparatively small force could hold Gauley Bridge successfully, and protect the Kanawha Valley against an invasion in force.[419]

While Cox was completing the occupation of the Kanawha Valley, General Rosecrans was busy taking over the command of the Department of Ohio which he assumed on July 25th.[420] His first concern was to keep sufficient troops in northwest Virginia to hold Federal gains,[421] in face of tremendous demands for troops to defend Washington.[422] The problem was made more difficult by the continued necessity of returning three-month troops to Ohio.[423] The Reorganized Government of Virginia was functioning and Governor Francis H. Pierpont was trying to arm

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[411] *Ibid.*
[412] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[413] *Ibid.*, p. 89.
[414] *Ibid.*
[415] *Ibid.*
[416] *Ibid.*, p. 90.
[417] *Ibid.*
[418] *Ibid.*
[419] *Ibid.*
[420] *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, p. 762.
[421] *Ibid.*, p. 759.
[422] *Ibid.*
[423] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. V, p. 552.

soldiers he was enlisting by asking that Rosecrans turn over all equipment captured during the occupation.[424]

The day he assumed command Rosecrans organized his army into four brigades,[425] and set up the District of Cheat River which he manned with Pennsylvania troops.[426] The Pennsylvania soldiers remained on the Cheat for only a few days,[427] when they were replaced by troops under Brigadier General B. F. Kelley. The name of the district was made the District of Grafton.[428] Rosecrans moved to Clarksburg on July 27,[429] where he took up the question of plundering by teamsters attached to the army. This he tried to correct by holding commanders in charge of trains responsible.[430] With new troops coming up proper officers became a problem, and he tried to get the War Department to promote all second lieutenants from West Point to majors.[431] He went so far as to propose that officers in California be moved east.[432]

Plans for a new campaign were meanwhile taking shape. These contemplated driving the Confederates east of Lewisburg and establishing a Federal depot there.[433] Preparations for a movement to Wytheville and east Tennessee were awaiting only the arrival of additional troops from Ohio.[434] As a prelude to such a campaign, however, it would be necessary to make a junction with Cox on the Kanawha.[435] In order to establish communications with Cox, preliminary to a junction, the Seventh Ohio, Colonel Erastus B. Tyler in command, was ordered to move from Weston to Summersville where it arrived on August 7th after a cautious march.[436] By this move not only was communication established between the two armies, but Con-

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[424] *Ibid.*, p. 557.
[425] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. II, p. 762.
[426] *Ibid.*, p. 763.
[427] *Ibid.*, p. 767.
[428] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. V, p. 552.
[429] Hayes, *op. cit.*, II, p. 45.
[430] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 555.
[431] *Ibid.*
[432] *Ibid.*
[433] *Ibid.*, p. 552.
[434] *Ibid.*
[435] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 73.
[436] Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

federate troops assembling in Pocahontas County were threatened.[437]

In the meantime, Generals Floyd and Wise were to threaten Gauley Bridge, and on August 13, the Seventh Ohio moved to Cross Lanes to cover the Gauley River crossings[438] in the vicinity. On August 15, the Seventh was joined by the Thirteenth and Twenty-third Ohio from the Kanawha Brigade, but they were shortly returned to Gauley Bridge.[439] On August 20, a scouting party from Company K, of the Seventh, was ambushed south of the Gauley on the Sunday Road with casualties of two killed, four wounded, and four captured.[440] On the same day Floyd made a feint at crossing Gauley at the mouth of Twenty Mile Creek, six miles above Gauley Bridge, and at 9:00 p. m., Tyler received orders to move to Twenty Mile.[441]

This move uncovered the crossing at Carnifex Ferry, where Floyd crossed on August 22, and took a strong position on the high bluff above the north bank of Gauley and entrenched himself.[442] General Cox and Colonel Tyler conferred on August 23, and it was decided that the Seventh should return to Cross Lanes, the better to cover the Gauley crossings.[443] Both officers were ignorant of the fact that Floyd had crossed the stream on the previous day.[444] The Seventh moved from the mouth of Twenty Mile on August 24, and on their arrival at Peters Creek, where the road to Cross Lanes left the main road, Tyler learned that Floyd had crossed Gauley and was in possession of Cross Lanes.[445] The regiment retired two miles and remained over night.[446]

At a council held the next morning it was decided that the baggage train, covered by one company, would remain at the forks of the road, and that the rest of the column

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[437] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 555.
[438] Cox., *op. cit.*, I, p. 92.
[439] *Ibid.*, I, p. 93.
[440] Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
[441] *Ibid.*, p. 68.
[442] *Ibid.*
[443] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[444] *Ibid.*
[445] *Ibid.*, p. 73.
[446] *Ibid.*

would advance.[447] The regiment marched at 9:00 a. m., with three companies ahead on reconnaissance.[448] At Cross Lanes they repulsed about forty pickets, and the balance of the regiment came up and bivouaced, with Company A in advance on the Summersville road, Company C at the crossing, Company K in advance on the road to Carnifex Ferry, and the balance of the regiment along the road nearer Peters Creek.[449] At 5:00 a. m., August 26, pickets fired while the regiment was at breakfast, and Companies A, C, and K advanced on the Ferry road,[450] Within five minutes of the first fire the enemy appeared from the woods beyond the Ferry road and quickly flanked the left of the Seventh,[451] Tyler made a valiant effort to rally his men, but they were quickly dispersed.[452]

Colonel Tyler was about to round up about 200 men and retreat post haste with the baggage train to Gauley Bridge.[453] Major John S. Casement managed to gather about 400 men in the woods above the Summersville road, and they retreated across the mountains to Elk River, and from there got to Charleston.[454] Until Casement was heard from, some days later, it was thought that Tyler's regiment had been cut to pieces.[455] Confederate losses were three killed, and five or six wounded.[456] The Union loss was thirteen killed and an undetermined number wounded.[457]

During the month of August, Rosecrans was busy sending detachments through the interior counties, counteracting the action of guerrilla bands and restoring law and order.[458] On August 20, he issued a proclamation to loyal citizens which restated the object of the army of occupation, which was to protect loyal citizens and to rid the

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[447] *Ibid.*
[448] *Ibid.*
[449] *Ibid.*, p. 74.
[450] *Ibid.*, p. 75.
[451] *Ibid.*
[452] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 118.
[453] *Ibid.*
[454] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 96.
[455] *Ibid.*
[456] Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
[457] *Ibid.*, p. 357.
[458] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 552.

region of secessionists.[459] He called on all the people to stop neighborhood strife and bloodshed.[460] He closed with an indictment of Generals Wise, Floyd, Jenkins, and the Richmond Junto, for invading the country and inviting bad feelings.[461] By August 28, affairs were sufficiently pacified that he could again turn his attention to a junction with the army on the Kanawha.[462] For this purpose he concentrated his forces at Sutton, to which point he ordered fifteen companies enroute from Ohio via railroad.[463] The army was to be assembled by August 31.[464]

During these preparations Confederate activity in front of Gauley Bridge was increasing. On August 2, a detail of the First Virginia Cavalry killed one of General Cox's pickets in a skirmish at Hawk's Nest,[465] while on the 25th, Lieutenant Colonel Joseph W. Frizell cleverly ambushed Jenkins' Cavalry[466] at Piggott's Mill, near Hawk's Nest,,[467] by concealing a detail in a wooded defile and leading the enemy into the trap by a feinted retreat of smokers.[468] On September 2, General Wise made a serious threat from Dogwood Gap.[469] He forced a heavy advance guard made up of the Eleventh and half of the Twenty-sixth Ohio,[470] to retire along the James River and Kanawha Pike from Turkey Creek to Big Creek.[471] An attempt to turn the Union flank from the head of Big Creek came to nothing, because the turning force got lost in the woods and Wise had to withdraw.[472] A force of militia led by General A. A. Chapman and General Alfred Beckley, organized at Fayetteville,[473] forced the Union advance to retire to the river on the next day.[474] General Cox protected

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[459] *Ibid.*, p. 575.
[460] *Ibid.*, p. 576.
[461] *Ibid.*, p. 577.
[462] *Ibid.*, p. 118.
[463] *Ibid.*
[464] *Ibid.*
[465] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. LI, part I, p. 36.
[466] Cox., *op. cit.*, I, p. 98.
[467] *Official Records*, I, Vol. II, p. 115.
[468] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 98.
[469] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 122.
[470] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 99.
[471] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 122.
[472] *Ibid.*, p. 123.
[473] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 99.
[474] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

his left flank during this pressure by sending two companies up Gauley to cover Floyd at Carnifex Ferry.[475] There were no fatalities during the Confederate thrust and less than a dozen light wounds were received.[476]

Confederate activity in Boone County was stopped by the First Kentucky, under Lieutenant Colonel Engart, who dispersed a column at Boone Court House on September 2, after a sharp engagement.[477]

By September 6, Rosecrans was ready to start south from Sutton, and ordered the advance to begin the next morning.[478] His army was organized into three brigades made up as follows: First Brigade—Tenth, Twelfth, Thirteenth Ohio Volunteers and McMullin's Battery, under General H. W. Benhan; Second Brigade—Ninth, Twenty-eighth, and Forty-seventh Ohio, under Colonel R. L. McCook; Third Brigade—Twenty-third, and six companies of Thirteenth Ohio, and Mack's Battery,[479] under Colonel E. P. Scammon. The army advanced without incident until it reached the Big Birch River where pickets were encountered.[480] The night of September 9 was spent there, and the advance was resumed at 4:14 a. m., the next day.[481] Between Big Birch and Summersville a burned bridge had to be replaced, which delayed arrival at Summersville until 8:00 a. m.[482] There it was learned that the town had been occupied by a detachment of infantry and cavalry which had retired to the camp in front of Carnifex Ferry, where Floyd was strongly entrenched.[483] From Summersville the column moved cautiously to Cross Lanes, where a halt was made at 2:00 p. m., to let the column close up.[484] The advance resumed about 2:30 p. m., and after moving about three-quarters of a mile, pickets began firing.[485]

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[475] *Ibid.*
[476] *Ibid.*, p. 99.
[477] *Ibid.*
[478] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 586.
[479] *Ibid.*
[480] *Ibid.*, p. 129.
[481] *Ibid.*
[482] *Ibid.*
[483] *Ibid.*
[484] *Ibid.*
[485] *Ibid.*

Shortly the head of the column came to an abandoned camp, which the Fiftieth Virginia (Confederate) had left to retire in to the Confederate works just before the Union army arrived.[486] General Benham thought that the abandoned camp meant that General Floyd was in full retreat, but Rosecrans instructed him to advance the First Brigade into the woods ahead cautiously, and to feel the enemy closely, but not to engage him unless he saw an opening.[487] Benham interpreted his orders as giving him his discretion and marched up the road directly to the enemy's front.[488] When the Confederates opened fire about 3:30 p. m., there was a break in Benham's line which quickly closed.[489] The Tenth Ohio was held on the road, and the Thirteenth and Twelfth were ordered to pass a valley to the left and advance.[490] As fire was coming from the right both regiments deployed in that direction, and Colonel Lowe was killed going into action.[491] Benham asked for help,[492] and Rosecrans having ordered the two remaining brigades into action, moved to the front and took charge personally.[493]

In the meantime Benham had placed his artillery to the right of the road where the guns could enfilade the Confederate works, and had attempted a frontal assault with the Tenth Ohio.[494] The attack failed and the Tenth rallied behind a farm building to the right of the road.[495] Rosecrans arrived at the scene of action while the Tenth was attacking, and immediately ordered parties out to reconnoiter.[496] Colonel W. S. Smith reported that it was practicable to turn the Confederate right.[497] By this time there was considerable confusion[498] at the front. Rosecrans detached part of the Twenty-eighth, placed them under Colonel Smith, and ordered them to turn the right of the

[486] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. LI, part I, p. 41.
[487] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. V, p. 130.
[488] *Ibid.*, p. 133.
[489] *Ibid.*
[490] *Ibid.*
[491] *Ibid.*, p. 138.
[492] *Ibid.*, p. 134.
[493] *Ibid.*, p. 131.
[494] *Ibid.*, p. 134.
[495] *Ibid.*, p. 136.
[496] *Ibid.*, p. 130.
[497] *Ibid.*
[498] Hayes, *op. cit.*, II, p. 90.

enemy line.[499] The remainder of the Twelfth was ordered to attack the center and left,[500] while the remainder of the Ninth and the Forty-seventh was held on the road.[501] Colonel Smith quickly organized and started to move into position at dusk, but, by the time the brigade had joined the defile to the left of the Ferry road, it was quite dark and the men were exhausted.[502] The terrain over which the attack would move was covered with heavy brush and was so steep that the officers thought it would take until 2:00 a. m., to get to the enemy.[503] The column was accordingly ordered to about face and move out without making an attack.[504] In the confusion of withdrawal the men fired at each other.[505]

Meanwhile Companies A, F, K, and E, of the Twelfth, under Captain J. D. Wallace, moved to attack the Confederleft.[506] The regiment got into position at the edge of a wood and delivered fire whenever the enemy exposed himself, but it proved ineffective and the command retired into the woods.[507] On receipt of orders to move further to the right they passed through the woods, crossed a hollow, and ascended to within fifty feet of the works when the enemy delivered a fire.[508] The men fell flat on the ground, and, on receipt of a second volley, were forced to withdraw and form under cover of the hill.[509] Here Captain Wallace received orders to join the rest of the regiment on the left wing, and the command marched to the main road where they were held until the action closed.[510]

The Confederates were so well sheltered by their defensive works that the attackers rarely saw a man during the entire action.[511] Because of their excellent entrench-

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499 *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 140.
500 *Ibid.*, p. 137.
501 *Ibid.*, p. 141.
502 *Ibid.*, p. 140.
503 *Ibid.*
504 *Ibid.*
505 *Ibid.*, p. 144.
506 *Ibid.*, p. 138.
507 *Ibid.*
508 *Ibid.*
509 *Ibid.*, p. 139.
510 *Ibid.*
511 Hayes, *op. cit.*, II, p. 90.

ments the Confederate loss was only twenty wounded,[512] while those of the Union were seventeen killed, and 141 wounded.[513] Floyd had fewer than 2,000 men on the field,[514] the Wise Legion having remained at Dogwood Gap.[515] There is no record of the number of regiments present; there must have been about 5,000 men.

The next morning it was discovered that Floyd had abandoned his wounded and had retreated during the night.[516] He had destroyed the Ferry, and was out of sight with the exception of a few wagons covered by skirmishers.[517] Rosecrans went into camp at Cross Lanes and McCook's Brigade was then ordered to clear the south bank of the enemy, and General Benham was put to work repairing roads and the Ferry.[519]

The destruction of the Ferry made immediate pursuit of Floyd impossible.[520] So Rosecrans was anxious for the Kanawha Brigade to take up the chase.[521] On September 14, McCook's Brigade was crossing Gauley to join the pursuit.[522] On September 15, Cox rode to Carnifex Ferry for a conference with Rosecrans, at which it was decided that Gauley Bridge would be made a depot for an advance over the Kanawha and James River Turnpike.[523] The next day the Kanawha Brigade took up the pursuit with instructions to move only far enough to occupy a good defensive position and there wait for the supply train.[524] If possible, Cox was to push an advance guard to the top of Big Sewell Mountain.[525] Rosecrans was waiting for ammunition and provision trains to come up.[526] He was hoping to strike a decisive blow with the united columns.[527]

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[512] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 147.
[513] *Ibid.*, p. 146.
[514] *Ibid.*, p. 147.
[515] *Ibid.*, p. 149.
[516] *Ibid.*, p. 131.
[517] *Ibid.*
[518] *Ibid.*
[519] *Ibid.*, p. 132.
[520] *Ibid.*, p. 592.
[521] *Ibid.*
[522] *Ibid.*, p. 599.
[523] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 109.
[524] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 602.
[525] *Ibid.*
[526] *Ibid.*, p. 603.
[527] *Ibid.*, p. 604.

While he was halted at Cross Lanes, Rosecrans responsibility was shifted by the creation of the Department of Western Virginia.[528] General Orders No. 80, dated at Washington on September 19, constituted that part of Virginia west of the Blue Ridge Mountains a new department.[529]

In preparation for the advance to Lewisburg, Major J. D. Hines and General Cox reconnoitered the enemy as far as Big Sewell under orders to remain on the defensive and not to bring on a general engagement until the column could be united.[530] On September 23, Cox's and Colonel McCook's Brigades occupied the top of Big Sewell,[531] thirty-four miles east of Gauley Bridge.[532] The Wise Legion was entrenched on the crest of Big Sewell,[533] and Floyd was at Meadow Bluff,[534] sixteen miles to the rear.[535]

The two armies skirmished on September 24, and Wise was forced to withdraw out of artillery range with one of his guns dismounted.[536] By the 26th, Scammon's Brigade was in supporting distance and Rosecrans rode ahead to pay the position a visit of inspection.[537] The two armies were united at last on September 28.[538] The country had been stripped of forage and provisions,[539] and heavy rains set in which made the transportation of supplies difficult.[540] On the night of October 5, Rosecrans withdrew his column from in front of Wise without incident.[541] There was skirmishing on October 7,[542] but the Wise Legion withdrew to Lewisburg.[543] and Floyd occupied Fayetteville.[544] Thus Big Sewell was cleared of soldiers without the battle Rosecrans had expected.[545]

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[528] *Ibid.*
[529] *Ibid.*
[530] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 117.
[531] *Ibid.*
[532] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 252.
[533] *Ibid.*
[534] *Ibid.*, p. 861.
[535] *Ibid.*, p. 900.
[536] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 117.
[537] *Ibid.*, p. 118.
[538] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 253.
[539] *Ibid.*
[540] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 120.
[541] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 615.
[542] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 124.
[543] *Ibid.*, p. 125.
[544] *Ibid.*, p. 126.
[545] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 615.

CHEAT MOUNTAIN, GREENBRIER RIVER, AND CAMP ALLEGHENY

One of General McClellan's last acts in western Virginia was to issue orders for the construction of fortifications on Cheat Mountain, at the point where the Staunton-Parkersburg Pike crossed it.[546] The Confederates were expected to follow up their victory at Bull Run by the occupation of the territory McClellan had just cleared.[547] Throughout the month of August rumors of a great Confederate advance were rife among Union troops,[548] heightened in their effectiveness by increased guerrilla activities at the head waters of the West Fork and Little Kanawha Rivers.[549]

Rosecrans was not greatly concerned, however. He was confident that there were only 2,000 Confederate troops between Cheat Mountain and Monterey.[550] He planned to devote his personal attention to matters around Lewisburg and south of the Great Kanawha and was sure that Brigadier General J. J. Reynolds would be able to hold in check whatever forces appeared in front of Cheat Mountain.[551] He expected Reynolds to harass the enemy and to strike a decisive blow as soon as additional three-year troops were sent up.[552] He kept Washington assured of the adequacy of the defenses at Cheat Mountain and of the alertness of the force there.[553]

Brigadier General W. W. Loring had been placed in command of the Confederate Army of the Northwest,[554] and General Robert E. Lee had been sent to supervise and coordinate Confederate efforts west of the mountains.[555]

Despite Rosecrans' assurance to the contrary, Confederates, under the direction of General Lee, were soon active in the region of Cheat Mountain. Colonel Richard Owen, Fifteenth Indiana, stationed at Elk Water, reported to

[546] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. II, p. 759.
[547] *Ibid.*
[548] Hayes, *op. cit.*, II, p. 73.
[549] *Ibid.*
[550] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 552.
[551] *Ibid.*, p. 603.
[552] *Ibid.*, p. 604.
[553] *Ibid.*, p. 555.
[554] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. LI, part II, p. 180.
[555] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. V, p. 667.

General Reynolds that scouts had found 8,000 enemy troops on the eastern side of Valley Mountain,[556] and had engaged their pickets in hand-to-hand fighting.[557] On September 11, a strong column drove in two outposts of the Fifteenth Indiana from their positions on Point Mountain,[558] as a result of which two men were killed and three were wounded.[559]

On the following morning Captain J. D. Higgins, Twenty-fourth Ohio, with ninety men was sent from Cheat Mountain to the relief of a detail from the Fourteenth Indiana, Captain Coons posted on a path leading from Cheat Mountain to Elk Water.[560] About a half mile from the post he found three wagons whose horses and drivers were missing, and, while he was halted, a cavalryman leading a wounded horse reported that the enemy was close by in force.[561] The detail passed into the woods to the left of the road about three rods when they met a large volley.[562] The little column returned the fire and advancing discovered a large body of men falling back on a larger body formed in line of battle.[563] Higgins made no further attack but held his position for about thirty minutes, when he was ordered to a post nearer Huttonsville, which he held all night.[564] A train moving from Cheat Mountain to Huttonsville was attacked on the road about one mile from the fort and Colonel Nathan Kimball, Fourteenth Indiana, went to its relief with companies of the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Ohio and the Fourteenth Indiana.[565] A large force of the enemy was overtaken and after a short skirmish[566] was repulsed.[567] While these skirmishes were in progress a force had appeared in front of the fortifica-

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[556] *Ibid.*, p. 189.
[557] *Ibid.*, p. 188.
[558] *Ibid.*
[559] *Ibid.*
[560] *Ibid.*, p. 190.
[561] *Ibid.*
[562] *Ibid.*
[563] *Ibid.*
[564] *Ibid.*
[565] *Ibid.*, p. 186.
[566] *Ibid.*
[567] *Ibid.*, p. 187.

tions at the top of the mountains and had captured several pickets.[568]

These skirmishers were with the columns of an elaborately planned attack by which General R. E. Lee hoped to take Huttonsville and press down Tygarts Valley.[569] It collapsed because Colonel Albert Rust, Third Arkansas Infantry, chose to believe the lies of captured Union pickets about the strength of the force at Cheat Mountain, and failed to open the battle.[570] Confederate forces were withdrawn from in front of Cheat Mountain and Elk Water on September 14.[571] Following Lee's defeat at Cheat Mountain a Confederate column under Brigadier General H. R. Jackson was stationed on Greenbrier River,[572] at Bartow,[573] where the Staunton Pike crossed that stream. During the night of October 2, 1861, General Reynolds, with six cannons, three companies of cavalry and nine regiments of Ohio and Indiana infantry, left the summit of Cheat Mountain on an armed reconnaissance of Jackson's force.[574] On their arrival before the enemy the Ninth Ohio led the attack to the enemy's left,[575] and the Fourteenth Indiana drove pickets in and cleared a position for artillery to the left of the Pike.[576]

An artillery duel ensued without advantage to either side.[577] A charge across the river by Reynolds' forces to the right of the Pike failed because of confusion in orders,[578] and it was repulsed by the Third Arkansas.[579] An attempt to turn the Confederate right was unsuccessful,[580]

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[568] *Ibid.*
[569] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. LI, part II, p. 283.
[570] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. V, p. 191.
[571] *Ibid.*, p. 184. General Lee made some preparations for an attempt to turn the Union right on September 14, but the death of his aide and friend, Col. J. A. Washington, a grand nephew of the first President of the United States, took the heart out of the effort and it was abandoned. Sickness had taken a heavy toll of Lee's army. See Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee, a Biography*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934, I, pp. 541, ff.

An almost obscene temporary marker was placed at the spot where Colonel Washington fell by Union troops. See Theodore F. Lang, *Loyal West Virginia, 1861 to 1865*, Baltimore, 1895, p. 49.
[572] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 224.
[573] *Ibid.*
[574] *Ibid*, p. 220.
[575] *Ibid.*
[576] *Ibid.*, p. 221.
[577] *Ibid.*
[578] *Ibid.*, p. 223.
[579] *Ibid.*, p. 226.
[580] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

because of heavy artillery fire,[581] and the engagement closed with considerable confusion in the Union ranks.[582]

Reynolds returned to the Tygarts Valley with an exaggerated idea of Confederate strength on the Greenbrier,[583] and a loss of five killed and forty-one wounded.[584] Confederate losses were six killed, thirty-three wounded.[585] With assurances that the Confederate concentration on the Greenbrier had been greatly reduced, a considerable portion of General Reynolds' force was withdrawn and transferred to Kentucky.[586]

The comparative quiet on the Cheat Mountain after the engagement at Bartow was broken only by minor skirmishes between scouting parties.[587] The Confederates decided to abandon the upper Greenbrier Valley, and late in November troops were withdrawn to Monterey and Camp Allegheny on top of the Allegheny Front[588] between Bartow and Monterey, where winter quarters had been built.[589] Colonel E. Johnson was in command of this fort. His force consisted of three regiments of Virginia and Georgia Infantry, eight pieces of artillery, and a detachment of cavalry, in all about 1,200 men.[590]

In an effort to disperse this camp a brigade of five regiments and a detachment of cavalry, about 2,000 men,[591] under the command of Brigadier-General R. H. Milroy, left Cheat Mountain on the afternoon of December 12.[592] The command was divided at Bartow, the Ninth Indiana and Second Virginia, under Colonel Gideon C. Moody, moving via Green Bank, while the Thirteenth Indiana, the Twenty-fifth, and Thirty-second Ohio advanced by the Staunton-Parkersburg Pike.[593] The two columns planned to attack simultaneously, one on the enemy's left and the other

[581] *Ibid.*, p. 227.
[582] *Ibid.*, p. 222.
[583] *Ibid.*, p. 221.
[584] *Ibid.*, p. 223.
[585] *Ibid.*, p. 229.
[586] Reid, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 29, 50.
[587] *Official Records*, I, Vol. LI, part I, p. 51.
[588] *Ibid.*, part II, p. 382.
[589] *Ibid.*
[590] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. V, p. 463.
[591] *Ibid.*, p. 457.
[592] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. LI, part I, p. 51.
[593] *Ibid.*

on his right and rear,[594] repeating the maneuver at Rich Mountain. Colonel J. A. Jones commanded the column on the Pike and, keeping the cavalry and the Thirteenth Indiana in reserve, he advanced within one mile of the enemy camp and deployed to his left, intending to move into position and wait for Colonel Moody to open on his right.[595]

The Confederates were advancing in line of battle when the Federals reached the crest of the mountain and the Thirteenth Indiana was ordered into line.[596] Colonel Jones was able to hold his line steady through two Confederate sallies and repulse an effort to turn his right flank, but on the fourth attack which struck on his left flank, he was forced to withdraw and return to the Pike.[597] Colonel Moody was not heard from until just after Jones returned to the road, when Moody opened an attack that was quickly repulsed.[598]

His delay, which caused the Union defeat,[599] was brought about by his column encountering slashed timber felled for three miles up the face of the mountain, over which he had to advance.[600] Losses during the engagement, which lasted from 7:00 a. m., until 2:00 p. m.,[601] were: Union, twenty killed, 107 wounded;[602] Confederate, twenty killed, ninety-eight wounded.[603] Milroy withdrew his brigade to Cheat Mountain and left the Confederates in possession of Allegheny Front.[604]

COTTON HILL

When General Rosecrans withdrew from Big Sewell he stationed his army along the Kanawha and James River Turnpike east of Gauley Bridge[605] with Colonel Schenck ten, McCook eight, and General Benham six miles from

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594 *Ibid.*
595 *Ibid.*, I, Vol. V, p. 457.
596 *Ibid.*
597 *Ibid.*, p. 458.
598 *Ibid.*, I, Vol. LI, part I, p. 51.
599 *Ibid.*, p. 53.
600 Reader, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
601 *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 460.
602 *Ibid.*, p. 457.
603 *Ibid.*, p. 458.
604 *Ibid.*, p. 460.
605 *Ibid.*, p. 253.

Gauley River. General Cox was on Gauley Mount with one. The remainder of his brigade was guarding at the bridge and the steamboat landing at Cannelton.[606]

The Confederate withdrawal was made by General Loring going to Staunton, the Wise Legion to Lewisburg, while Floyd crossed the New River to the vicinity of Raleigh Court House (Beckley), and Fayetteville.[607] McCook's Brigade made a reconnaissance to Fayetteville about October 20,[608] but found only guerrillas.[609] He returned across New River without leaving a guard on the west side.[610] The guerrillas were active, however, and there was almost constant skirmishing all along the line between October 19 and the first of November.[611] Floyd sent a cavalry detachment to the lower Kanawha region on October 23 and 24, but it accomplished nothing except interference with elections on Paint and Cabin Creeks.[612] A short time later Rosecrans learned that Floyd was moving toward him and he determined to capture the entire column.[613] On October 29, Union pickets on Big Falls Creek were forced to the river at Kanawha Falls.[614] On November 1, a force appeared on the point of Cotton Hill, opposite Gauley Bridge, and began dropping shells from a six-pounder into the post.[615] The shelling was so severe that operation of the ferry had to be suspended during daylight, and General Cox was ordered to return the fire from Gauley Mount.[616]

Rosecrans' plans for the capture of Floyd was for Schenck's Brigade to cross New River at Bowyer's Ferry, at the mouth of Mann's Creek, or some point north, and move against Floyd's front, while Benham would pass down New River during the night, to a point opposite Loop Creek, cross the Kanawha and be in a position to pass up

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[606] *Ibid.*
[607] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 125.
[608] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 253.
[609] Cox, *op. cit.*, I, p. 126.
[610] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 253.
[611] *Ibid.*, p. 250.
[612] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. II, p. 377.
[613] *Ibid.*, I, Vol. V, p. 253.
[614] *Ibid.*, p. 254.
[615] *Ibid.*
[616] *Ibid.*

Loop Creek and thence by a movement to the left to come on Floyd's rear.[617] McCook would be stationed at Miller's Ferry, threaten a crossing, and at the same time hold in check any Confederate forces that might advance from the east.[618] The capture was planned for November 10.[619]

Major S. W. Crawford of Rosecrans' staff, was sent to assist General Schenck in crossing New River, but after six days of hard work spent in building boats and preparing a road for a crossing at Townsend Ferry, the attempt had to be abandoned because of flood water in the river.[620] On November 13, Schenck crossed the river below Gauley Bridge to reinforce Benham.[621] On the morning of November 10, the Eleventh Ohio and the First Kentucky had crossed the river and forced the Confederates away from the Blake farm opposite Gauley Bridge.[622] On November 11, strengthened by the Second Kentucky, they forced Floyd over the crest of Cotton Hill.[623]

In his pursuit of Floyd, General Benham was at the mouth of Loop Creek with strong detachments posted along its course.[624] During the evening of the 11th, he had sent a detachment of 1,000 men from the head waters of Loop around the head of Big Falls Creek to Cassidy's Mill on Laurel, about three miles from Fayetteville.[625] During the night of the 11th, he received orders to occupy Cotton Hill, and the next morning he started with the Tenth, Twelfth, and Thirteenth Ohio Regiments with four mountain howitzers and two six-pounder guns.[626] His route was four miles up the Great Kanawha to the falls at the mouth of Big Falls Creek, and from there up a spur of Cotton Hill.[627] By 3:00 p. m., he had contacted Confederate pickets, and the head of his column skirmished with them

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617 *Ibid.*, p. 253.
618 *Ibid.*
619 *Ibid.*, p. 272.
620 *Ibid.*, p. 276.
621 *Ibid.*
622 *Ibid.*, p. 272.
623 *Ibid.*, p. 273.
624 *Ibid.*, p. 278.
625 *Ibid.*
626 *Ibid.*
627 *Ibid.*

until dark, with a loss of one killed and four wounded.[628] The enemy had been reinforced, and Benham felt that it was not safe to draw on a battle, and so bivouaced along the road.[629]

About 2:30 a. m., a scout reported hearing heavy wheels rumbling, but he could not tell whether the enemy was retreating or receiving reinforcements.[630] Colonel Smith of the Thirteenth was instructed to send out two scouts, but Smith thought that the order was merely a suggestion and did not comply.[631] Scouts finally got away at daylight, but it was not until 4:00 p. m., that they reported that the Confederates had retreated.[632]

In pursuit of Floyd, Federals got under way at 5:00 p. m., and at 7:00 p. m., reached the Dickerson farm at the crest of Cotton Hill, where Floyd had been encamped.[633] A halt was ordered at Dickerson's and while the column was at rest the Seventh and Fourth Ohio came up from the the head of Loop Creek.[634] The advance was resumed and by four o'clock of the morning of November 14, it reached the Hawkins farm five miles beyond Fayetteville.[635] The long wait for reports from the scouting party had allowed Floyd to escape a battle, but part of his train was only five miles in advance of Benham's column,[636] and the march was resumed at 7:00 a. m.[637] At 9:30 a. m., the troops in advance opened a sharp skirmish with Confederate cavalry, and during thirty minutes of fighting Lieutenant Colonel St. George Croghan, of Floyd's Cavalry, was killed.[638] About one mile from the scene of the skirmishing a considerable Confederate force was found behind the ridge covering McCoy's Mill[639] (Glen Jean.[640] Artillery fire

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[628] *Ibid.*
[629] *Ibid.*
[630] *Ibid.*
[631] *Ibid.*, p. 279.
[632] *Ibid.*
[633] *Ibid.*
[634] *Ibid.*
[635] *Ibid.*
[636] *Ibid.*
[637] *Ibid.*
[638] *Ibid.*
[639] M. W. Humphreys, *Military Operations in Fayette County, West Virginia, 1861-63*, Fayetteville, W. Va.: C. A. Goddard, 1926, p. 9.

failed to break the line, but a flank attack to the enemy left by the Seventh and Twenty-seventh Ohio forced the retirement of the Confedrates.[641] The flanking movement was delayed for thirty minutes by a dispute as to who would lead it.[642] A counter attack by cavalry was stopped by laying artillery fire on the road over which the attack was developing.[643] Pursuit beyond McCoy's Mill was delayed by a burned bridge,[644] and scouts reported a long and difficult hill two miles in advance.[645] When the foot of the hill was reached the Confederate train had passed, and the column was bivouaced.[646] During the night the pursuit was ordered given up and Benham's Brigade returned to Fayetteville.[647]

Schenck's Brigade passed over the Kanawha on November 13,[648] but did not join Benham's column nor advance further than Fayetteville.[649] Abnormal rains made the roads difficult of passage,[650] but the failure to administer a decisive defeat to Floyd belongs to Benham. He was slow in getting in motion from Loop Creek,[651] and his column was poorly handled throughout the advance.[652] His failure to make his orders clear was responsible for the detachment at Cassidy's Mill moving into Fayetteville at 11:00 a. m., November 13, and then withdrawing to join the main column via the Mill and Cotton Hill, rather than moving directly to Benham by the Fayetteville Pike.[653] His appointment as brigadier general was subsequently revoked.[654]

While the retreat from Cotton Hill was in progress, Colonel Clarkson's Cavalry was detached from Floyd, and was on the Ohio River with orders to strike a blow wher-

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641 *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 279.
642 *Ibid.*
643 *Ibid.*, p. 284.
644 *Ibid.*, p. 280.
645 *Ibid.*
646 *Ibid.*
647 *Ibid.*
648 *Ibid.*, p. 276.
649 *Ibid.*, p. 277.
650 *Ibid.*, p. 274.
651 *Ibid.*, p. 258 ff.
652 *Ibid.*, p. 275.
653 *Ibid.*, p. 278.
654 Reid, *op. cit.*, I, p. 319.

ever he thought wise.[655] He discovered that a Union regiment was in progress of formation at Guyandotte, and at 7:00 p. m., November 10, made an attack.[656] The descent was so sudden that the Union troops dispersed without forming a line,[657] and ninety-five of them were taken prisoners.[658] Clarkson withdrew the next morning, on the approach of the steamer *Boston* carrying the Fifth Virginia Infantry.[659]

WINTER QUARTERS AND PLANS FOR THE SPRING

The pursuit of Floyd from Cotton Hill marked the end of active campaigning for the year in northwest Virginia. Troops promised to Rosecrans for his projected campaign to Wytheville were diverted to Kentucky,[660] and by the end of October Washington was transferring men from the Department of Western Virginia to other commands,[661] The Reorganized Government of Virginia was active in securing reinforcements for General Kelley at Romney.[662] A general reorganization limited the Department to the portion of Virginia that had been in the Department of Ohio.[663] Late in November eight additional regiments were withdrawn and sent to Kentucky.[664] Although roads were impassable Rosecrans hoped to accomplish gains during the winter by replacing wagon transport by the use of pack trains.[665]

Confederate activity in Logan County aroused the fears of people who lived across the Ohio and an expedition from Ceredo was proposed,[666] but Rosecrans vetoed the idea because of impassable roads and insufficient subsistence in the region.[667] The Reorganized Government of Virginia

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[655] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 488.
[656] *Ibid.*, p. 411.
[657] *Ibid.*, p. 412.
[658] *Ibid.*, p. 488.
[659] *Ibid.*, p. 412.
[660] *Ibid.*, p. 622.
[661] *Ibid.*, p. 634.
[662] *Ibid.*, p. 639.
[663] *Ibid.*, p. 647.
[664] *Ibid.*, p. 656.
[665] *Ibid.*, p. 662.
[666] *Ibid.*, p. 663.
[667] *Ibid.*, p. 664.

was so disturbed by the situation between the Guyandotte and the Big Sandy that action was demanded.[668] General Samuels, Adjutant General, told President Lincoln that anarchy reigned and that it would be impossible to establish West Virginia until civil law was restored there.[669] The War Department quieted fears with the assurance that General Buell would pacify the Big Sandy region with the cooperation of Rosecrans if that became necessary.[670]

As winter approached and plans matured for placing troops in permanent quarters, the problem of Confederate guerrillas and irregular troops became important.[671] Rosecrans sent Captain F. W. Reynolds under a flag of true to General Floyd with the proposal that the Union army would release some of its hostages, if the Confederates would put a stop to raiding and kidnapping.[672] These independent bands had been authorized by the Virginia legislature,[673] but their activities became so objectionable that both Confederate army officers and citizens tried to have them dispersed.[674]

Plans for the disposition of forces for the winter were completed by November 19.[675] On that date Rosecrans advised McClellan that he planned to hold Gauley Bridge with outposts toward Big Sewell and Raleigh Court House; Romney and Red House on the Northwestern Turnpike would be occupied; the Railroad (Baltimore and Ohio) would be protected, and the Mud and Guyandotte River valleys would be policed.[676] Troops that could be spared from the field were to be taken to the lines of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, where a vigorous training program would be instituted, for which additional officers would be needed.[677] Officers were to be given an examination for the purpose of weeding out the inefficient.[678]

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[668] *Ibid.*, p. 675.
[669] *Ibid.*
[670] *Ibid.*, p. 688.
[671] *Ibid.*, p. 656.
[672] *Ibid.*
[673] *Ibid.*, p. 526.
[674] *Ibid.*, *passim.*
[675] *Ibid.*, p. 657.
[676] *Ibid.*
[677] *Ibid.*
[678] *Ibid.*

The department was in need of general officers to replace Schenck, who was ill, and Benham, who was incapable of efficient action in the field.[679] Rosecrans had expected to have generals sent to him, but McClellan insisted that colonels in the department be promoted.[680]

After the Department of Western Virginia was separated from the Ohio command there was no hospital within its limits, and Rosecrans wanted this situation remedied by the inclusion of Cincinnati within his jurisdiction,[681] but hospital facilities were provided at Wheeling[682] By November, twenty-nine troops were moving into suitable quarters for winter living.[683] Four more regiments of infantry and an artillery battery were drawn from the Kanawha line and sent to Buell in Kentucky;[684] winter quarters were set up as planned,[685] and headquarters were being moved to Wheeling by the end of the month.[686] Wheeling was made headquarters for the department by General Orders issued on December 11.[687] Nine days later the department was organized in three districts, Kanawha, Cheat Mountain and Railroad, under Brigadier Generals Cox, Milroy, and Kelley, respectively.[688]

On December 31, Rosecrans was in Washington before the Committee on "the Conduct of the War."[689] He testified that transport on miserable roads was the chief problem in western Virginia, and was of the opinion that, if a newly designed blanket were furnished his men, the use of tents could be done away with and supply by pack train would be practicable.[690] He thought that the Shenandoah Valley might be cleared with 20,000 men, provided the Army of the Potomac kept the Confederates occupied in

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[679] *Ibid.*
[680] *Ibid.*, p. 670.
[681] *Ibid.*, p. 657.
[682] *Ibid.*, p. 670.
[683] Hayes, *op. cit.*, II p. 151.
[684] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 670.
[685] *Ibid.*
[686] *Ibid.*, p. 669.
[687] *Ibid.*, p. 685.
[688] *Ibid.*, p. 291.
[689] U. S. Senate, 37th Congress, 3rd session, committee *Report No. 108, Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War*, part I, p. 199.
[690] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

the East.[691] He was of the opinion that the Army of Occupation should have continued across the Alleghenies after the battle of Rich Mountain.[692] The people of his department were loyal, when separated from their aristocratic leaders, and he told the committee that people felt General Floyd had not made good his promises.[693] He got a plea for examining boards to improve officer personnel into his testimony.[694]

Although field operations were suspended for the winter, western Virginia was not completely quiescent. On December 15, Captain John P. Baggs, with an independent command of fifty men, pursued Confederate bushwhackers from Roane County into the Little Kanawha, where five were killed and their houses burned.[695] On the same day a detachment of the Thirty-sixth Ohio went on an expedition to Meadow Bluff, where they found a deserted camp which they burned.[696] They were back at Gauley Bridge on December 21, with ninety-five head of cattle, 200 sheep, and twenty-one horses and mules that they had captured.[697] On the 28th, Colonel Scammon, of Schenck's Brigade, moved from Fayetteville and occupied Raleigh Court House, cutting a Confederate line of communication to the Ohio River.[698] On Elk River, Captain Weston Rowand's squadron of the First Virginia Cavalry was attacked at Sutton, where they were garrisoned, by a guerrilla band.[699] Rowand retreated to Weston and the commisary stores, as well as part of the town of Sutton, were burned.[700] A detachment from Summersville, under Colonel Crook, pursued the raiders into Clay County, killing six of them, but the major portion escaped by scattering.[701] The next day a detail from the First Virginia Cavalry and the Third Vir-

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[691] *Ibid.*
[692] *Ibid.*, p. 205.
[693] *Ibid.*, p. 201.
[694] *Ibid.*, p. 203.
[695] *Official Records*, I, Vol. V, p. 468.
[696] *Ibid.*, p. 470.
[697] *Ibid.*
[698] *Ibid.*, p. 495.
[699] *Ibid.*, p. 496.
[700] *Ibid.*
[701] *Ibid.*

ginia Infantry from Weston went into Webster glades, killed twenty-two men, and burned twenty-six houses,[702] A raid from Huttonsville, by the Second Virginia, the Twenty-fifth Ohio, and Bracken's Cavalry, under Major George Webster, descended on Huntersville in Pocahontas County on January 3, 1862, dispersed the Confederate force there, and destroyed stores worth $30,000.[703] An expedition toward the Virginia Central Railroad from Fayetteville was attempted, but bad roads and inclement weather prompted Colonel Scammon to abandon the effort, on the advice of his surgeon.[704] A Confederate threat from Logan County was so serious that on December 15, Union stores were drawn into Fayetteville, Gauley Bridge, and Charleston,[705] but it was broken up by Colonel Edward Siber and the Thirty-seventh Ohio on a raid that lasted from January 12 to 23.[706] The expedition reached the Guyandotte on the 14th, and advanced up that stream to Logan by columns on each bank.[707] Colonel Siber reported the region extremely hostile, and was of the opinion that a detail of cavalry should be kept on the Guyandotte.[708] On February 8, there was skirmishing at the mouth of Blue Stone River, between a party from Fayetteville and men from the (Confederate) Forty-fifth Virginia.[709]

On his return from Washington Rosecrans busied himself with projects for spring operations. He was interested in improving army discipline and morale, and on March 4, suggested specific legislation to the Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, to prevent unwarranted seizure or destruction of property.[710] On February 7, he had proposed to General McClellan a plan for field operations for the spring.[711] He desired to move in two columns, one from Raleigh Court House and

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[702] *Ibid.*
[703] *Ibid.*, p. 497.
[704] *Ibid.*, p. 696.
[705] *Ibid.*, p. 687.
[706] *Ibid.*, p. 501.
[707] *Ibid.*, p. 502.
[708] *Ibid.*, p. 503.
[709] *Ibid.*, p. 509.
[710] *Ibid.*, p. 734.
[711] *Ibid.*, p. 721.

the other via the Big Sandy River. By these movements he hoped to break the railroads connecting Virginia and Tennessee and gain possession of southwest Virginia.[712] He wanted to transport supplies by pack train and was training teamsters for packers.[713] He estimated that seven additional infantry regiments and 2,000 animals would be needed, and thought that there would be enough forage along the route to subsist the trains.[714] He wanted the west side of the Big Sandy added to his command, and preferred his Adjutant, George L. Hartsuff, for its commander,[715] General McClellan approved the plan, but thought that by using the Big Sandy and wagons beyond the head of navigation, the expedition could get away several weeks earlier.[716]

In response to Rosecrans suggestions the Department of West Virginia was, on March 3, 1862, enlarged to include the South Branch, Cow Pasture Branch, and the Roanoke Valleys,[717] and he changed his plans accordingly. The revised plan was to move in four columns: the first from Cumberland and Green Springs via the South Branch to Jackson River Depot; the second from Gauley Bridge to Lewisburg and thence to the railroad between Bonsack's and Salem; the third from Fayetteville and Raleigh Court House to Abingdon or Newbern; and the fourth from the Big Sandy via the Louisa Fork to Jeffersonville to seize the Northwestern Virginia Branch Bank (sic). [718] For this, six infantry and one cavalry regiments and one battery of artillery would be needed, in addition to troops in the department.[719] A simultaneous movement into Rockbridge and Augusta Counties was desirable.[720]

But Rosecrans was denied the opportunity to carry out his plans. By executive order of March 11, 1862, the De-

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[712] *Ibid.*
[713] *Ibid.*
[714] *Ibid.*
[715] *Ibid.*
[716] *Ibid.*, p. 722.
[717] *Ibid.*, p. 723.
[718] *Ibid.*, p. 745.
[719] *Ibid.*, p. 746.
[720] *Ibid.*

partment of Western Virginia was changed into the Mountain Department, and its command was turned over to Major General John C. Fremont.[721] In this change there was no criticism of Rosecrans. The shift in commanders was a political move on the part of Lincoln to pacify the Radicals,[722] Rosecrans was attached to the War Department for special service,[723] and Fremont took charge at Wheeling on March 29,[724] to prepare for his fiasco in the Valley of Virginia a few weeks later.

CONCLUSIONS

McClellan and Rosecrans gained all of northwest Virginia that the Union army held during the Civil War. The importance of northwest Virginia has been established so that there is no necessity of an evaluation here. There are some facts, however, that have not been previously established, and that merit attention.

Weight of numbers and superiority of fire power was with the Union army throughout the period covered. At no time did Confederate strength equal that of either McClellan or Rosecrans. The Union army also had the advantage in facilities for transport, inasmuch as they had the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in the north and the navigable Great Kanawha River in the south.

The Union army had superior leadership, which is evidenced by the fact that it was able to keep on the offensive. Robert E. Lee's great feats were ahead of him when he withdrew from Big Sewell. He was handicapped by the fact that he was not in actual command and was working with officers that he did not know. Only once, at Cheat Mountain, did the Confederates attempt an offensive and it ended in complete failure.

Rich Mountain was the most important engagement of the campaigns of the Army of Occupation. It decisively

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[721] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[722] Gilbert A. Tracy, *Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln.* Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, p. 225.
[723] Reid, *op. cit.*, I, p. 321.
[724] *Official Records*, I, Vol. XII, part I, p. 4.

defeated the Confederate effort to hold the line of the Baltimore and Ohio between Cumberland, Parkersburg and Wheeling. Carnifex Ferry was the only other important action. There Floyd's effort to keep the two Union armies apart failed, and the Union effort to establish a line from the Virginia border to the Kanawha succeeded.

Of all the engagements in the campaigns, only Rich Mountain was well planned and well executed. The strategy of that battle was the result of the lucky accident of the Hart boy falling into the hands of Union pickets. McClellan got credit for the success of the battle, but the credit properly belongs to Rosecrans. The truth of the matter is that McClellan's conduct was not creditable at all. Had he attacked Pegram's front at the time Rosecrans opened at the Hart farm, as was the plan, he would have been able to cross Rich Mountain twenty-four hours before he did, and might have given Garnett a crushing blow. The blunders that marred the other engagements, with the exception of Benham's inexcusable blunder at Carnifex Ferry and his dilatory actions at Cotton Hill, were the results of inexperience on the part of subordinate commanders.

McClellan in western Virginia showed the weaknesses that later wrecked his career. Had the War Department and the High Command followed events here more closely, they might not have had such high hopes for him. McClellan's claim that he sent his army into Virginia on his own responsibility is refuted.

The evidence of outside aid in plans for the secession of West Virginia is interesting and might well be the subject of further investigation.

West Virginians in the American Revolution

Assembled and Edited by ROSS B. JOHNSTON

The sources of this material are from the files of the Pension Office at Washington from various county records, from notes of patriotic societies, principally the Daughters of the American Revolution, Sons of the American Revolution, Sons of the Revolution, and from a large miscellaneous group of published and private sources. Corrections and additions to this list will receive the careful attention of the editor.

PAUL, HUGH

Before the Cabell County Court, September 24, 1832, Hugh Paul made affidavit that he had served as a Revolutionary soldier and that he was entitled to a pension.

PAYTON, (PEYTON), HENRY

Service—Virginia Va. No. 23336 No. S. 8943

Born in Culpepper County, Virginia, January 19, 1760. Enlisted 1777, in the Revolutionary Army from Amherst County, Virginia, in the company commanded by Captain Proctor under Colonel Skilton and was stationed at Point Pleasant in border defense for some time. Mentions the killing of Robert Gilmore which brought on the murder of Chief Cornstalk and other Indians at Fort Randolph, Point Pleasant. He was drafted in 1778 and also served in 1780. Among his officers were Captain James Dillard, Captain Preston, Colonels Lynch, Higginbottom, and Captain John Stewart from whom he received discharge in winter quarters after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

Was pensioned in Cabell County, Virginia, in 1834, but was removed from the rolls in 1835. Supporting data was submitted by Elisha, Moses, and William McComas, Solomon Thornbridge, Roland Berry and Frederick Bughrin. Died in Cabell County, 1836.

PECK, PETER

Service—Virginia Va. No. 23674 No. S. 18156

Born, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, August 18, 1755; died June 23, 1837. Enlisted in Shenandoah County, Virginia, June 15, 1777, and served until 1871 in broken periods of enlistment under Captains Fenton and Cunningham in the Sixth Regiment of the Continental Line, commanded by Colonel Tipton, Mathew Boyer, and General Muhlenberg. Took part in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, Guilford Courthouse, and the siege and capture of Yorktown. Married Margaret Green, but date and place are uncertain. Applied for pension in Mason County, Virginia, 1832.

PENCE, JACOB, SR.

Settled with his brother, Valentine, in Rockingham County, Virginia, prior to 1747. Served in the Augusta County, Virginia, militia under Captain William Nall from September 10, 1774, until the end of the Revolution. Was at the Battle of Point Pleasant, and his Revolutionary service is accepted under Nat. No. D. A. R. 175459. After the Revolution he moved to Bath County, then to Callaghan's Station, and to Monroe County. He was born, 1742, and died in 1819. He married Elizabeth Trust in 1762, and to them were born three sons, Henry, David, and Mose. Henry married Nancy Stodghill.

PENDLETON, NATHANIEL (Captain)

Joined Captain Stephenson's company in 1775 as a private. In 1776, enlisted as first lieutenant in Captain Gabriel Long's company of riflemen. At the battle at Fort Washington, he was captured. After his exchange, he became a captain in Colonel Rawling's Regiment. He moved to New York after the Revolution.

PENDELTON, PHILIP (Colonel)

Was the son of Nathaniel Pendleton of Culpepper County, Virginia. Removed to Berkeley County, Virginia, near Martinsburg, where he was admitted to the bar in 1772. From 1777 to 1781 he was an officer of the Berkeley County militia, and its representative in the state assembly of 1779.

PENINGER, CHRISTIAN

Was a private under Captain Stephenson. Lost his life as a prisoner, February 15, 1777.

PENINGER, HENRY

Service—Virginia Va. No. 7004 No. S. 8946

Enlisted in the Virginia militia in Pendleton County, Virginia, and served two years as a private and Indian spy under Captains Stewart, Hamilton, and McCoy under Colonel Lewis. Pension was granted him in 1833 upon application from Lewis County, but he was stricken from the rolls in 1836.

PEPPER, WILLIAM

Service—Delaware Va. No. 12531 No. S. 5901

Born, Sussex County, Delaware, August 23, 1761. There enlisted in the spring of 1776 and served eighteen months as private under Captains George Smith, Moore, and Herman Kirkwood in the Delaware Line, under Colonel Collit. He applied for pension in Harrison County, in 1833, which was granted. It was suspended in 1834, but resumed May 29, 1841. Supporting data was filed by James Radcliffe, Thomas C. Nutter, Samuel Hall, Hamilton Gass, and Isaac Johnson. In 1841, it is stated that Johnson Pepper is the only surviving child. In 1820, a son, Parker, aged 16, was living. The pensioner at that time was totally blind.

PEPPER, WILLIAM

Born in England, emigrated to America and settled in New Jersey. He is listed among the members of Captain Bond's company, Fourth Battalion, Second Establishment, of the New Jersey Line during the Revolutionary War, and later emigrated to western Virginia.

PERKINS, ELIAS

Service—Virginia Va. No. 2555 No. S. 5908

Enlisted in Botetourt County, Virginia, and served eighteen months under Captain Stribling and Major Sneed in the Second Virginia Regiment, commanded by Colonel Howe, from June, 1780, to January 17, 1782. Born, about 1759; died September 4, 1839. Received pension in Greenbrier County, in 1832.

PERRY, THOMAS

Service—Maryland Va. No. 4717 No. W. 8505 and B. L. Wt. 52780

Enlisted in Montgomery County, Maryland, in 1781, and served as a private under Captain Price in the Third Maryland Regiment, commanded by Colonel Adams. Took part in the siege of Yorktown and the capture of Cornwallis, and was discharged when his company was disbanded at Annapolis, Maryland.

Soldier seems to have received pension while living in western Virginia in 1818. He was married to Mary Blake in Bath County, Virginia, July 1, 1817, by the Rev. Josiah Osburn. After the soldier's death, Mary Thomas received pension and also bounty land warrant for 160 acres.

PETERS, CHRISTIAN (Sergeant)

Service—Virginia Va. No. 12957 No. S. 5898

Born in Rockingham County, Virginia, October 16, 1760. There he enlisted, June 1, 1779, under Captain Robert Cravans and Jeremiah Beasley and served ten months as private, corporal, and sergeant in the Virginia Line under Major Jack Willis, Generals Green, Morgan, and Campbell, and took part in the battles at Cowpens, Hot Water, and Jamestown.

His pension application, filed in Monroe County, Virginia, in 1832, describes in detail the campaigns with General Morgan and General Green in Virginia and in the Carolinas. He took part in the capture of a party of Tories in the Black Swamp in North Carolina. He was one of the riflemen, presumably an expert marksman, and says that he carried his own rifle, tomahawk, and butcher knife throughout his army service.

He received pension in 1833 in Monroe County, where he had resided since 1789. Supporting data was filed in his case by James Dunlap, Samuel Clark, Henry Alexander, John Peters, a brother, and John Dunn. The town of Peterstown, Monroe County, West Virginia, bears his name.

PETERS, GODFREY

The grave of Godfrey Peters, a soldier in the Revolutionary War, is on Booths Creek, Marion County, West Virginia.

PETERS, JOHN

Service—New Jersey and Virginia Va. No. 12532 No. S. 5902

Enlisted, New Jersey in 1776 in the company commanded by Captain John Anderson in the New Jersey Flying Camp Regiment, commanded by Colonel Johnson, which took part in the battles of Long Island and White Plains. He also seems to have been a substitute in Louden County, Virginia, for Philip Unkafer, under command of Captain Thomas, Colonel West or Colonel Clapham. Received pension in Hampshire County, Virginia, 1833. Supporting data filed by John Arnold and John Myers.

PETERSON, THOMAS

Service—New Jersey Va. No. 12956 No. S. 5899

Born, April 9, 1756, Somerset County, New Jersey, died July 14, 1836. Enlisted in February 1775 in New Jersey under Captain Conrad Turnick. Served most of a period of six months on Staten Island subduing Tories. In July, 1776 was drafted for a month in New York under Captain Joseph Caskeen and Colonel Quick; in August, was under Captain Babcock at Amboy; in October was under Captain Richard Compton and Colonel Peter Boone at Springfield fighting British and Tories; in November and December was with Captain Scott and Colonel Quick. His total service covered an eighteen months period. Received pension, Brooke County, Virginia, in 1833. Supporting data submitted by David Pugh and Mose Congleton.

PHILLIPS, ELIJAH

The grave of Elijah Phillips, a veteran of the Revolutionary War, is in the French Creek Cemetery, Upshur County.

PHILLIPS, THEOPHILUS (Lieutenant Colonel)

Born before 1750 and was living in Springhill Township, Monongalia County, Virginia, but later Fayette County, Pennsylvania, and in 1776 his house was used as the first meeting place of the Monongalia County Court. During the Revolution, he served in the militia, rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel in the Fifth Battalion in 1782. In 1784, Washington, while visiting in the Monongalia Valley, stopped over night with Colonel Phillips. He died in 1789 on his way from New Orleans to Philadelphia. His will probated October 10 of that year mentions a wife and ten children.

PHILLIPS, THOMAS

Before the Randolph County Court, November 25, 1811, Moses Phillips, one of the heirs of Thomas Phillips, made oath that he never knew his father to receive compensation for land for services under General Clark against the Indians.

PHILLIPS, W. B.

The grave of W. B. Phillips, a soldier in the Revolutionary Army, is in the French Creek Cemetery, Upshur County, West Virginia.

PIERCE, JOHN
Service—Maryland Va. No. 16840 No. S. 38306

Enlisted at Winchester, Frederick County, Virginia, in June 1775, in the rifle company of Captains Daniel Morgan and Stephen and under General Montgomery took part in the storming of Quebec. The soldier applied for pension which was granted in Jefferson County in 1820. Supporting data was submitted by Ferdinand Shultz, Peter Lauck, Major Adam Heiskell, Captain Abraham Shepherd, and J. Swearingen.

PIERPONT (PIERPOINT), JOHN

John Pierpont served under Captain Zackquill Morgan in 1775 in the Virginia militia. He was born in 1714 and died in 1796. His home, built in Monongalia County, in 1769, became well known as a frontier outpost. Here George Washington was a guest in 1784. Here was born Francis H. Pierpont, who played an important part in the formation of West Virginia.

PIGMAN, JESSE (Captain)

Jesse Pigman, who later was a captain during the Revolutionary War, made a settlement in Monongalia County, in 1773, and was a member of the grand jury for Augusta County in 1775.

PILES, JAMES

In the Price Memorial Cemetery near Olive Church, Monongalia County, is buried James Piles, a soldier in the Revolutionary War, who died at his home near there in 1778.

PILES, ZACHARIAH
Service—Virginia Va. No. 16. No. W. 10896 and B. L. Wt. 50894

Born, July 15, 1758, Frederick County, Maryland; removed to Monongalia County, Virginia at age of 10, where he resided until his death, November 15, 1840. He was married in Green County, Pennsylvania, July 6, 1814, to Susannah Lazer, or Lezar, by Daniel Wooley, justice of the peace.

While in the South Branch Valley, he enlisted in the fall of 1776 under Captains Davy, Wiggins, and Scott, and served under Colonel Hite and Vanmetre, and General McIntosh. He was granted a pension in Monongalia County, in 1833, which seems to have been dropped in 1834. Suit was filed in this case which remained in court for many years until dismissed in 1852. Widow seems to have received pension in 1853 and also bounty land warrant for 160 acres. The widow was aged 70 in 1856.

Supporting data was submitted in this case by Peter Haught, Dudley Evans, Captain Scott, John Petty, General E. S. Pendall, William Price, John Walker, Samuel Miner, Captain J. Lantz, Hon. Edgar Wilson and W. G. Brown.

PINDALL, JACOB

In the Wiseman Graveyard near Lowesville, Monongalia County, is buried Jacob Pindall, a veteran of the Revolutionary War, who died near there in 1829.

PINDALL, PHILLIP (Captain)

Phillip Pindall, who served in the Revolutionary Army, died in Monongalia County, in 1804, and is buried in the Wiseman Graveyard near Lowesville. He was born in Maryland in 1731. Pindall was commissioned May 16, 1778, as a captain of a company in Colonel Lemuel Barrett's Battalion.

PITMAN, JOSEPH

In 1803, Joseph Pitman, who had been a soldier in the Revolutionary War, settled on Bill's Creek, Barbour County, and there spent the remainder of his life.

POLLOCK, THOMAS

Private in Captain Shepherd's company. He was drafted into another company January 1, 1777.

PORTERFIELD, CHARLES (Colonel)

Sergeant in Captain Daniel Morgan's company in 1775. Taken prisoner at Quebec. Commanded one of the rifle companies raised by Morgan, 1777-78. Killed at Camden, South Carolina, at head of his command as lieutenant colonel in the Virginia Line.

PORTERFIELD, GEORGE (Captain)

Sergeant in Morgan's riflemen. Promoted to captain. Served as sheriff of Berkeley County. Was born in 1740 and died in 1824.

PORTERFIELD, ROBERT

Was adjutant of Colonel Daniel Morgan's Regiment in 1777. According to Danske Dandridge, the Porterfields lived near Gerrardstown, now Berkeley County, West Virginia.

POWELL, GEORGE

Lived in Shepherdstown. Took part in the storming of Stony Point under General Anthony Wayne.

POWELL, ISAAC

The grave of Isaac Powell, veteran of the Revolutionary War, is found on the old Powell farm, Clinton District, Monongalia County, three miles from Opekiska. He died in 1818.

POWELSON, HENRY

Service—New Jersey Va. No. 23196 No. W. 3864

Born, Somerset County, New Jersey, 1758; died, July 8, 1845. Enlisted in New Jersey in 1775 or 1776 and on different tours as a drafted militiaman served under Captains Stotts, Wheeler, Vauss, Flagg, Garrett, Vandiver, Low, Fulkinson, Carr, Moore, Babcock, and Denike, under Colonel Frederick Frelinghuysen. Received pension in Hampshire County, Virginia, 1833. Name of wife, Abigail Brewer. Supporting statements filed by

Cornelius and Rimer Powelson, brothers, Ephriam Dunn, John Brady, Christopher Heiskell, and John Stump.

POWERS, WILLIAM (Captain)
Service—Virginia Va. No. 16936 No. S. 18164 and B. L. Wt. 26741

Born, Frederick County, Virginia, November 9, 1765, but early settled at Powers Fort, Bridgeport, Harrison County, Virginia. Enlisted as an Indian spy in 1781; served as an ensign of scouts under Colonel William Lowther in 1783; held a commission as captain of rifle company in the Fourth Battalion, Eleventh Regiment Virginia militia in 1796; as a justice of the peace was a member of the Harrison County Court in 1800, and continued a justice in Harrison and Lewis counties more than thirty years. After his marriage he settled on a Revolutionary war grant on what was later the farm of the late J. Goodloe Jackson near Jane Lew and once served as sheriff of Lewis County.

He was pensioned, April 1841, for Revolutionary services, but through error, was dropped from the pension rolls in August of that year. He was restored in 1850. He died June 6, 1856, and is buried with his wife in the Broad Run Cemetery of Lewis County. Supporting data in his case was submitted by John Brown, John Schoolcraft, Alexander West, and Adam Flesher.

PRENTISS, STANDARD (Sergeant)

Before the Wood County Court, July 6, 1818, Standard Prentiss made affidavit that he had enlisted as a sergeant in Connecticut under Captain Dyer in the Twentieth Regiment commanded by General Putnam, and that he was discharged from said service in New Jersey at the completion of his term of enlistment. His claim was approved by the court and forwarded to the War Department.

PREWITT, OBEDIAH

Before the Mason County Court, May 14, 1834, Obediah Prewitt, aged 79, stated that he enlisted in May, 1778, in Goochland County, Virginia, under Captain Miller Dillant, and marched to Richmond, Williamsburg and Yorktown. Was then granted permission by General Nelson in command of the Virginia militia to return home. In 1778, he was drafted under Captain Edward Duke and served another period of three months. In 1779, he was one of those called out under Colonel Morris and Ensign Lacy to attack a British vessel which had gone aground in the James River. In April, 1781, served another three month term under Lieutenant David Rutherford, Major McClum and Major Armistead and in the fall of that year was out again under Colonel Curd. Became ill and received his discharge. Most of the service was with the Fifth Regiment of Virginia militia. Soldier was born in Goochland County, Virginia, July 6, 1755. Later moved to North Carolina, and from thence to Mason County, Virginia.

PRICE, JACOB
Service—Virginia Va. No. 12090 No. S. 3730

Enlisted at Fincastle, Botetourt County, Virginia, in 1776, and served as

a private two years under Captain Thomas Posey in the Seventh Virginia Regiment, commanded by Colonel Lewis. Before the Greenbrier County Court in 1784 it was ordered that this soldier, who had been wounded in the Revolutionary War, be recommended to the Governor and Council as a pensioner. He appears to have been admitted to the Virginia pension rolls February 23, 1796. In Greenbrier County, Virginia, 1833, he was placed on the United States pension roll. Soldier died June 28, 1841.

PRICE, RICHARD

Service—Virginia Va. No. 12067 No. W. 2435 and B. L. Wt. 10244

Born, Louden County, Virginia, February 18, 1757; died, July 18, 1834, and is buried in Lawson Cemetery, Marion County, West Virginia. Enlisted at Leesburg, Virginia, and served from January, 1777, one year as a private under Captain Payton Harrison and Colonel Spottswood; in 1780, was out two months under Captain Francis Russell; in May, 1781, served under Captain Cleveland and Colonel Matthews; and also served in 1781 guarding prisoners from Cornwallis' captured army. Was engaged in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and skirmish at Bacon's Branch.

Married Elizabeth Arnett in 1827. Received pension in Monongalia County in 1833, with supporting data from David Musgrave, James Price, Thomas and Daniel Arnett. Widow also received pension and bounty land warrant for 160 acres. She was aged 77 in 1853.

PRICE, THOMAS

Before the Randolph County court, March 23, 1790, Thomas Price, an old soldier, who had been wounded at the battle of the "Point" in the company of Captain John Lewis of Augusta, was recommended to the Executive as worthy of aid, and approval given a pension of fifteen pounds.

PRICE, THOMAS

It was ordered by the Greenbrier County Court in 1785 that Thomas Price be allowed four hundred acres of land by right of settlement, he having proved to the court he was entitled to the same by actual settlement made before the year, 1778, he being in Continental service, when the commissioners settled the claim to unpatented lands in this district.

PRICHARD, REES (Ensign)

Service—Virginia Va. No. 12545 No. S. 38316

Enlisted as an ensign in the fall of 1775, 1776, 1777, in the company of Captain Abel Westfall in the Eighth Virginia Regiment Continental Establishment, commanded by Colonel McCarty, at which time the soldier was living at Sullivan Island. Soldier was granted pension while living in Hampshire County, Virginia, in 1819, but was stricken from the pension rolls in 1820, and there is no evidence to show reinstatement. Supporting data submitted in this case by James Monroe, Daniel Carmichael, John Hiett, John Candy (Gandy) and Colonel Edward McCarty. Died September 25, 1830.

PRICKETT, JACOB

Married Dorothy Springer near Winchester, Virginia, and came to the Monongalia Valley about 1772 and built Prickett's Fort, which became an important border outpost, and which was garrisoned by militia during the Revolution and Indian wars. Land was confirmed to Prickett in 1781, and Colonel William Crawford had reported that he visited Prickett's home there as early as 1766. Prickett is commonly accepted as having had military service in the Revolutionary War.

Following are the names of the children of Jacob and Dorothy Prickett: Josiah, married Charity Taylor; Nancy, married Reuben Bunner; Isaac, married Mary Campbell; Dorothy, married James Dunn; Mary, married Jacob Lucas; Martha, married Peter Parker; James, married Mary Springer; Isaiah, killed and scalped by the Indians in 1774; the names of two children are missing.

PRITCHARD, (PRICHART, PRICHARTT, PRICKETT), GEORGE
Service—Virginia Va. No. 5976 No. W. 5594

Born, Culpepper County, Virginia, 1736; died, June 19, 1822. Enlisted in Culpepper County, in 1776 in company commanded by Captain John Thornton, Third Virginia Line Regiment for three years. He took part in the engagements at Trenton and Queens Island and was discharged at Philadelphia, March 15, 1777, owing to disability.

Soldier was married, October 1780. His wife, Elizabeth, was aged 60 in 1820 and their children were as follows: Polly, 26; Lydia, 21; Fanny; George, 15; and four grandchildren: Mary, 15; Betsy, 9; Amelia, 4; Joanna, 3. Pension was granted in Harrison County, Virginia, in 1819 to the soldier, and later to his widow. Supporting data was submitted by George Dakon.

Book Review

McCARTHY OF WISCONSIN. By Edward A. Fitzpatrick. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. Pp. 316. $3.50.

Belittling American legislatures is a popular activity today, despite the fact that our generation has witnessed repeated demonstrations that the destruction of independent legislative power is the prelude to the establishment of a dictatorship. Consequently, Colonel Edward A. Fitzpatrick's scholarly and sympathetic biography of Charles McCarthy—constructive believer in the legislature as a "bulwark of democracy"—is distinctly welcome.

McCarthy was so aware of the obstacles facing legislators, who are expected to find in a few months practical solutions to a wide range of social problems, that in 1901 he conceived and established the legislative reference library at Madison. By creating and developing this agency he made available to Wisconsin solons in summarized form the experiences with problems perplexing legislative bodies throughout the world. Thus, he frequently saved them from enacting ill-advised legislation, and by providing expert bill drafting service he freed many of them from an undesirable dependence upon the often biased advice of the legal counsel of vested interests.

That a real need existed for the legislative reference library is attested by the maintenance today of this kind of agency by approximately one-half of the American states and by our national government. In many instances these libraries and bill-drafting bureaus were established and manned by personnel trained by McCarthy at Madison.

In addition to creating an agency that greatly facilitated effective legislation in general he specifically played an important role in the enactment of such forward-looking measures as the workmen's compensation law, the primary elections statute, and the public utilities act. Furthermore, McCarthy assisted in the erection of a state administrative system which enables the legislature to confine itself to outlining general policies, delegating to administrative bodies the task of formulating and executing the minute regulatory details.

McCarthy's direct connection with the South consisted of two successful seasons as the football coach of the University of Georgia, but thoughtful Southerners will probably be interested in his career because an increase in the efficiency of state legislatures helps to arrest the tendency to reduce the forty-eight states to mere administrative districts.

Then, Southerners, together with Americans of all sections, will admire colorful one hundred and thirty-five pound McCarthy because he overcame the handicaps of an immigrant and poverty-pinched background to become a football hero in the bone-crushing days of the flying wedge, a coach, a Ph. D., and a socially inventive public servant. Dr. McCarthy assisted both Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt to draft their

platforms in 1912; he was active in agricultural organizations; and he investigated industrial relations.

Former college students who are weary of having 'athletic' and 'non-intellectual' used as synonymous terms will probably like to have certain of their acquaintances read about McCarthy, a football star who was capable of other deeds besides making touchdowns.

Educators and others who are concerned about our failure to "educate all the children of all the people" will likely be absorbed in the account of McCarthy's work in developing the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin and in establishing continuation schools throughout the state.

President Fitzpatrick is, on the whole, unusually well qualified to write the biography of Charles McCarthy since he is blessed with sound scholarship, a readable style and an intimate acquaintance with his subject, the result of working shoulder to shoulder with him for many years. Readers, however, who insist on a biographer maintaining a detached objectivity may feel that Dr. Fitzpatrick's admiration for his one-time chief is so great that he is occasionally primarily a eulogist.

Mary Washington College of
The University of Virginia
Fredericksburg, Virginia

CARROLL H. QUENZEL

State History as Featured by the Press

MAGAZINES:

WILLIAM AND MARY QUARTERLY HISTORICAL MAGAZINE (January, 1944), *On the Writings of Colonial History*, by Charles McLean Andrews; *Beverley's History . . . of Virginia (1705), a Neglected Classic*, by Louis B. Wright; *Indian Policy in Early Virginia*, by Wesley Frank Craven.

VERMONT QUARTERLY MAGAZINE (January, 1944), *Importance of History in Wartime*, by Governor William H. Wills; *Why Should Americans Know History*, by Edgar B. Wesley.

THE JOURNAL OF SOUTHERN HISTORY (February, 1944), *Three Centuries of Southern Records, 1607-1907;* by J. G. de Roulboc Hamilton; *The Southern Brigade: A Sidelight on the British Military Establishment in America, 1763-1775*, by Charles L. Mowat.

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE (March, 1944), *A Discordant Chapter in Lincoln's Administration: the Davis-Blair Controversy*, by Reinhard H. Luthin; *The Historic Mulberry Tree of Saint Mary's City*, by William B. Marye; *A List of Promotions in the Maryland Regular Troops, 1776*, by William D. Hoyt, Jr.

NATIONAL HISTORICAL MAGAZINE (March, 1944), *America's First Chief Justice*, by L. P. Hart.

WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY (March, 1944), *Old Milwaukee*, by William George Bruce.

ATLANTIC MONTHLY (February, 1944), *The South and the Fight*, by James Boyd.

LINCOLN HERALD MAGAZINE (February, 1944), *Lincoln and "Old Buster,"* by J. Winston Coleman, Jr.; *Early Lincolns in Pennsylvania*, by Charles Heathcate; *An Editor Measures Candidate Lincoln*, by Rufus Wilson.

SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY (January, 1944), *The Miracle Man of the Confederacy* [Josiah Gorgas], by John M. Gibson.

THE ANNALS OF IOWA (April, 1944), *An Historic Indian Agency*, by Richard C. Leggett.

TYLER'S QUARTERLY HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL MAGAZINE (April, 1944), *Abraham Lincoln, Demigod*, by James Douglas Anderson.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW (January, 1944), *Doctor John J. Lowry: A Frontier Physician*, by Charles F. Mullett; (April, 1944), *Diseases, Drugs, and Doctors on the Oregon-California Trail in the Gold-Rush Years*, by Georgia Wellis Read.

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Editor's Page

MR. PAUL HARDMAN—HISTORIAN

By The Library Staff

The sudden death of Mr. Paul Hardman of 1571 Jackson Street, Charleston, on May 3, 1944, has saddened his many friends and co-workers throughout the State.

Mr. Hardman was a native of Calhoun County, later lived in Clay County, then came to Charleston where he was employed in the State Auditor's office. His leisure hours were devoted to writing histories and genealogies of many of the older families of the State. Copies of his genealogies are valuable contributions to the West Virginia State Library—*The Four Goff Brothers, The Hardmans and Kindred Clans, The Stumps, Twelve Generations of Farleys.* These books are reminders of his daily visits to the State Library, and his presence will remain with those who worked with him. His friendly greeting will be missed in the Department of Archives and History. His sound advice and loyal devotion was of value to the Department. He was alert and most interested in all activities for betterment of his community. He leaves a wealth of human love and kindness together with his love of books and civic interests to his wife and children: Mrs. Lula Chapman Hardman, the Misses Virginia, Pauline and Chantilla, Mr. George Hardman of Clay Court House and Mr. John Hardman of Charleston.

"None knew him, but to love him; none named him, but to praise. Verily, a tall cedar has fallen and many hearts are sad."

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